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ORIAL

'CAP' PULLS HIS KNIFE

"The facts are stark." So says Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger in his preface to the slick Pentagon propaganda brochure called "Soviet Military Power."

Stark, staring mad is more like it. And not MAD in the sense of Mutual Assured Destruction, the deterrent theory that has kept the world from the ultimate blowup for three decades. Reagan & Co. are abandoning MADness for plain madness as they edge toward the doctrine of a fightable, winnable nuclear war.

Weinberger's sales pitch is aimed at two principal targets. Congress is the first ground zero, and it is growing stickier about raising the money for a new generation of superweapons. The other bull's-eye is Europe, where the NATO countries are dubious about playing host to cruises, neutrons and Pershing 2s.

So the idea is to prove once more that The Russians Are Coming: they have an "unending flow" of new hardware; their capability for "projection of power" beyond their borders is mushrooming; and they persist in "the quest for military-technological superiority" (a plank, by the way, in Reagan's platform for America).

Therefore we must outdo, outflank and overkill them, cost what it might and come what may. That means B-1s and MXs, and devil take the hindmost European ally. To placate those nervous Nellies, Al Haig is playing the nice cop, chatting with Andrei Gromyko desultorily, while Cap Weinberger acts the tough role. An empty gesture toward multilateral arms control aims to counter Europe's growing interest in unilateral disarmament.

The allies won't buy tickets to this old charade. Neither will the Russians be there. But the acting President, directing this melodrama, goes on buying hideously expensive props for a show turning to tragedy.

SOWELL BROTHER
Roger Wilkins

EUROPE'S PEACE MOVEMENT
Michael Lucas

CALIFORNIA'S FRUIT FLY WARS
Peter Schrag

ISRAEL'S GAME PLAN IN LEBANON
Milton Viorst

INDEPENDENT PACS
Jane Stone

TIME FOR A CHANGE IN GREECE
Christopher Hitchens

THE NEW A-BOMB DEBATE

HIROSHIMA AND MODERN MEMORY

MARTIN J. SHERWIN

[My] article ["The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb," Harper's, February 1947] has also been intended to satisfy the doubts of that rather difficult class of the community which will have charge of the education of the next generation, namely educators and historians.

—Former Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson to President Harry S. Truman, January 7, 1947

Thirty-six years after atomic bombs destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, every RAD (Reagan Administration Day) we survive enhances the relevance of those events and the debates they ignited. Two recent publications, "Hiroshima: A Soldier's View," an article by Paul Fussell featured on the cover of the August 22-29 issue of *The New Republic*, and a book, *Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Physical, Medical, and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings* (Basic Books, 706 pp., $37.50), remind us of the political motives that inspire those debates and of the personal commitments that intrude on them.

No one who looks closely at the arguments related to the atomic bombings will fail to recognize that there is more than a matter of military history at stake. Hiroshima not only introduced the nuclear age to the world but it also served as the symbolic coronation of American global power. The atomic bomb, as contemporary cartoonists depicted it, was our scepter, and its use contributed to the image of our international authority.

But power was not the only foundation for

(*Continued on Page 349*)

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LETTERS.

SMALL PRESS PROFITS

Brooklyn, N.Y.

Gail Pool's consideration of *The Pushcart Prize, VI* ["Small Press Establishment," *The Nation*, Sept. 19], for all its thoughtfulness and concern for the right values, makes a fundamental error, one shared by most small press operators, which is the assumption that a small press cannot be solvent, pay royalties to writers and stick to its artistic principles. Several small press operations, Black Sparrow being the most prominent, show that just isn't so. Technology makes it possible to turn a profit on sales of 1,000 copies of a paperback, priced at the usual market standard. If one cannot sell 1,000 copies of even a poetry book, then the question may not be that of the taste of the public but of the editors and writers involved.

Dan Georgakas
Publisher, Smyrna Press

POOL REPLIES

Boston

If a press is to be solvent as well as good, it cannot have the aversion to business practices that has characterized the small press to date. Black Sparrow's John Martin has excellent literary taste and he also has a good business sense; the two qualities do not preclude each other, but the absence of one does not guarantee the other. It does come down to the editor, who is unlikely to be solvent if he doesn't aim to be.

Gail Pool

OPEN LETTER TO THE U.S. PEOPLE

Havana

It is unusual that nearly 300 Latin American and Caribbean intellectuals, writers and artists—some of them in exile—come together and decide to write a letter to the people and the intellectual community of the United States. What compels us to do so is the danger of armed intervention that threatens the peace of our peoples, their cultural values, their territorial integrity and even their very survival.

Therefore we believe that this message is necessary and that it will be received with respect and attention by the scientists, writers, artists and professionals of the United States, by the North American people and in particular by the young people who with exemplary dignity, courage and a sense of justice opposed the war in Vietnam and did not hesitate to risk their freedom to defend their principles.

We know that there are issues on which you and we may not agree. But this is not the moment to dwell on differences. The decision of the U.S. government to manufacture the neutron bomb has caused justifiable alarm everywhere. We understand and share the anxiety and the protests that some distinguished North American scientists have made public. The strategy of a "limited" nuclear war is today illusory and impossible. Regardless of where the first bomb explodes, the people of the United States could well be among its first victims. And military aggression against those of our peoples who are struggling heroically to win and consolidate their independence could have unforeseeable consequences.

We trust nevertheless that reason will find a way. There is still time for peace and life, rather than destruction and death, to prevail. If we intellectuals act with clarity and without delay, we can help prevent a war in which there would be neither winners nor losers.

Over and above any differences in perspective, our joint action is necessary at this time to preserve peace, culture, human rights and national sovereignty. We intellectuals always defend the right to think, to write, to create and to organize ourselves as the indispensable condition for intellectual creation; but what is at stake today is nothing less than the right to live.

Mario Benedetti, Uruguay
Juan Bosch, Dominican Republic
Chico Buarque de Hollande, Brazil
Ernesto Cardenal, Nicaragua
Suzy Castor, Haiti
Julio Cortázar, Argentina
Gabriel García Márquez, Colombia
Pablo González Casanova, Mexico
George Lamming, Barbados
Roberto Matta, Chile
Miguel Otero Silva, Venezuela
Mariano Rodriguez, Cuba
Permanent Committee of Intellectuals for the Sovereignty of the People of Our America

ISRAEL THE OPPRESSOR

San Francisco

It is unfortunate that so many Jews, both in Israel and America, have come to see the world in terms of oppressor and oppressed. And have chosen to be among the former. What was not considered, however, was the accompanying disfigurement: one cannot become an oppressor without taking on the philosophy and practices that oppressors have historically held in common, foremost among them being a total disregard for the humanity of their victims.

Thus, as Christopher Hitchens illustrates in his article on the West Bank ["Golem on the West Bank," *The Nation*, Sept. 12], a small but visible segment of Israeli society has clearly made its historical pact with Nazi Germany, whose atrocities against the Jewish people have served not only as a justification for the Zionist state but as an excuse for Israel's own atrocities against the Palestinians and Lebanese both outside and within their control.

Liberal defenders of Israel will point out that the Kach party did not win a single seat in the last election and that Gush Emunim does not represent the mainstream of Israeli politics, but the program of expanding settlements and de facto annexation of the West Bank was the stated policy of the Begin regime when it was elected, and then re-elected, by the Israeli people.

How different, in reality, is the attitude of Kach from those Jews, both here and in Israel, who supported the bombing and strafing of civilian sectors of Beirut, a series of barbaric acts that left more than 1,100 people dead and wounded? Or their total indifference to the sales of weapons by the Israeli government to almost every fascist regime on the globe, including South Africa, Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala and, to the very end, Somoza in Nicaragua and Ian Smith in what was then Rhodesia?

As a Jew raised in World War II with a deep hatred of Nazism, what Israel has become both angers and saddens me. The 6 million dead were not our only casualties in that war. Much of what was valuable in Jewish culture—a certain feeling for humanity and a clear sense of social justice—evidently perished as well.

Jeffrey Blankfort

OLLMAN'S APPEAL

New York City

The editorial "Campus Red Scare" [Samuel J. Stoloff, *The Nation*, Sept. 19] jumped the gun a little bit in stating that I had already lost my appeal in my academic freedom case against the University of Maryland. What I lost is the first round in Federal District Court in Baltimore. Assuming I am successful in collecting (from supporters) the $20,000 needed to carry my struggle forward, the case will go before the Federal Court of Appeals in Richmond, Virginia. Anyone remember Clement Haynsworth Jr.? He's reputed to be one of the more liberal judges on this court. So don't throw the editorial away—you may yet have a use for it.

Bertell Ollman
New York University

COMING UP

A special report by Mark Green and Steven Solow on cooperation by American businesses and the U.S. government with the Arab boycott of Israel. Also: Spook Lib, Solidarity, Yugoslavia, Sandra's Day, Abbott-Bashing.

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EDITORIALS.

Chile, With Love

On August 11, Jaime Castillo, president of Chile's Human Rights Commission, and three other prominent human-rights leaders in that country were expelled. Castillo was roughed up by Chilean police, spirited by car to the Argentine border with the three others and forcibly evicted. The banishments took place barely forty-eight hours after U.S. representative to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick concluded a visit to Chile [see editorial, "Gross Violations," *The Nation*, August 22-29]. Castillo, who is now living in exile in Venezuela, was in the United States in mid-September. In the course of a talk with him, we learned that the timing of his expulsion and Kirkpatrick's stay in Chile was more than a coincidence.

While in Chile, Kirkpatrick announced that the United States desired to "normalize" relations with Augusto Pinochet's regime. She made it clear that Chile's refusal to cooperate in the investigation of the 1976 Washington, D.C., murders of exiled government minister Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt, an associate of Letelier's at the Institute for Policy Studies, by agents of the Chilean secret police was no obstacle to friendly ties. The Carter Administration had made an issue of the murders and cut off aid to Chile, among other measures, in November 1977, after Chile refused to extradite Gen. Manuel Contreras, Col. Pedro Espinoza and Capt. Armando Fernández, whom the U.S. government wanted to try for complicity in the killings, and failed to make a serious investigation of its own. Although these retaliatory measures were only half-heartedly enforced, relations with Chile were officially cool. President Ronald Reagan and his advisers, however, announced their intention to abandon the Carter sanctions. Kirkpatrick was the first important Administration official

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to go to Chile and tell President Pinochet the good news.

Despite the Pinochet government's obstruction of any investigation of the Letelier-Moffitt murders, one Chilean has tenaciously pursued the case—Jaime Castillo, acting as lawyer for the Letelier family. Castillo informed us that at the time of his expulsion, a military court's ruling in the Letelier case was imminent. If the ruling was favorable to Castillo, an investigation of the murders would finally commence. If the court ruled against him, he would have five days to appeal to the Supreme Court of Chile. Either way, Castillo's presence in Chile was essential because he is the only lawyer familiar with the record in the case, which now runs to fifteen volumes. His expulsion, therefore, served the interests of the Chilean officials who are protecting those who ordered the murders of Letelier and Moffitt. On September 18, the same day that we talked with Castillo, the military court handed down its decision: no further investigation. Since Castillo was barred from returning to file an appeal, the case was in effect closed.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig, Kirkpatrick and other Reagan Administration officials speak of the determination of the United States to combat international terrorism, yet the Letelier-Moffitt murders were the most blatant example of international terrorism to take place within the United States. By normalizing relations with Chile, the Administration has demonstrated just how insincere it is. Jaime Castillo was really fighting international terrorism. Now he is a man without a country.

STATIC ON THE RIGHT

We are not unaccustomed to being labeled "pro-Communist," but we were perversely heartened to hear the charge again from Representative Larry McDonald, the Georgia John Bircher. The occasion was a speech by McDonald devoted mainly to an attack on, of all people, the ultra-right Liberty Lobby. The lobby, it seems, has been feuding with McDonald, and so he rose in high dudgeon to charge that it was in cahoots with "the strange leftist cult headed by Lyndon LaRouche"—the United States Labor Party, that is—which, McDonald said, relies on "such pro-Communist sources as . . . the National Lawyers Guild and *The Nation*."

Since McDonald is a *Nation* fan, he must recall the article by Frank Donner and Randall Rothenberg entitled "The Strange Odyssey of Lyndon LaRouche" [*The Nation*, August 16-23, 1980], which described the U.S.L.P.'s rightward drift.

But what we really relished about McDonald's diatribe was that it represented another in a growing string of internecine squabbles in the Reagan new right-old right coalition. What with Barry Goldwater denouncing the Moral Majority and Irving Kristol opposing the possible nomination of George Wallace supporter Melvin E. Bradford to the directorship of the National Endowment for the Humanities, each faction seems bent on purging the other. We wish them success.

Sowell Brother?

I once heard Erik Erikson say that we are all our own grandmothers. I guess that's so, because the strongest thing I ever heard my grandmother say about anyone was "He gets my goat," and the strongest thing I can say in a popular magazine about Thomas Sowell is that he gets my goat.

Now, to say that Sowell is unpopular among black moderates and liberals is to put the case in its mildest form. I do not believe Sowell's unpopularity derives from his being a conservative or from a desire by blacks on the left to impose a firm orthodoxy on all black public figures.

Some of us who were involved in the civil rights battles of the 1960s tended to look down on blacks who seemed interested only in making money and indifferent to what we were doing. I was one of those people. But I have lately come to understand that we need to accumulate wealth in the black community and to pass on financial skills to our children if we are to take our fight for justice to places beyond where the activists, the politicians and the writers can take it. Grandma used to say, "There are lots of paths for people to take. Let's take them all." I now agree.

Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Samuel Pierce Jr. is a conservative by my lights, and so, for that matter, is my friend Franklin Thomas, the president of the Ford Foundation. I am sure they do their work in good faith, and though they have chosen paths or methods I might not have chosen, I accept the possibility that they are now doing more for the cause of equal justice than I have ever done.

But that does not solve my Sowell problem. I hate to brand him (or anyone) an enemy to the interests of his people, but after reading him for many years, I find it hard to escape that conclusion. I have kept my silence about him because I could see no winners in a fight between blacks other than the external enemies of our people. This spring, however, Sowell launched an all-out attack on black leaders on the opinion pages of *The Washington Post*. Among their sins, apparently, was having light skins. (How this charge applies to the most prominent of those leaders, Vernon E. Jordan Jr., I do not know.) And then, in a recent edition of *Newsweek*, Sowell used Beethoven, apples, oranges, Willie Mays and Italians in Argentina to attack the notion that inequality of results usually suggests inequality of opportunity.

I know that one of my problems with Sowell is that his writing is murky and his line of reasoning hard to follow—sometimes it is even hard to find. But he seems to be saying that humankind is made up of unique individuals, who are not quantifiable abstractions. Thus, though two numbers can be compared, two human beings, Beethoven and Mays, for example, cannot. In addition, Sowell argues that there are some societies in which, though the scales are tipped against them, despised minorities—expatriate Chinese in Asia or the Japanese in America—seem to thrive. Finally, he argues that American history does not

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support the notion that inequality of results strongly suggests inequality of opportunity.

Inequality of results, in America, Sowell seems to conclude, flows from basic inequalities in human beings and nothing else. Well, that's quite a thimbleful. And it's baloney. Our history is at work in each and every one of us and in all of our institutions. The poor black children I see out of the window of the room where I am now working are in the city of Washington because their grandparents were sharecroppers who were thrown off the land when Southern agriculture was mechanized and their unskilled labor was no longer needed. Their sharecropping ancestors lived in semi-peonage because America refused to give even limited opportunity to all but a very few of the freed slaves and, I suppose, because some of the people who stayed on the land were dazzled by Southern paternalism, some were timid and, perhaps, some were not too bright. To suggest that the children I now see are not affected by history is as valid as saying that the earth is flat.

And history works in another way too. The form that chattel slavery took in this country was one of the most brutal the world has ever known. All of the mechanisms of social control in the South, and some of them in the nation as a whole, were mobilized to extract mule-like labor and obedience from black people. The courts, the churches, the legislatures and the weight of custom were all employed to enforce submission and to reinforce the image of the black as a despised other. None of that stopped with Emancipation or the adoption of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. The attitudes, codes of conduct and laws were handed down by white America through the generations.

To argue that the crushing weight of a whole society's hatred had no impact on the minds and spirits of black people is about as silly as putting Mays and Beethoven in the same sentence. It is just as illogical as arguing, as Sowell does, that though Ludwig and Willie can't be compared, the experiences of Japanese-Americans and black Americans can be. Blacks have been battered by American society as no other people, and I can feel the scars of my slave great-grandmother on my soul. God knows what the children across the street feel.

One would have to be a fool to argue that there have been no improvements since Emancipation. There have been enormous advances in my lifetime. Black children in Kansas City, Missouri, are no longer bused past new white schools to old, dilapidated, segregated ones, as I was when I was a child. A black man sits on the Supreme Court and another sits in the Cabinet. Blacks sit on corporate boards and others make millions on basketball courts or baseball diamonds. Blacks with money can walk without fear of humiliation into the best restaurants, hotels and theaters in this country. There has been change.

But there is still racism in America. It is not past; it is present and harmful. Large numbers of black inner-city youngsters still go to all black or predominantly black (and inferior) schools. The managers in almost all corporations are overwhelmingly white and male, and the people coming up the ladder behind them are the same. Blacks who penetrate the higher echelons of corporate life still encounter racial hostility. I did when I joined the editorial board of *The New York Times* in 1974, and I have, since then, heard similar stories from others.

A society that was bent and twisted out of shape in order to deny opportunity to minorities and to women can't be fixed by two and a half decades of vigorous protest, by laws and court decisions or even by the pieties and half-truths of neo-conservative politicians and pundits. The system is still substantially skewed, and so are the minds of a good number of white Americans—particularly males. So, when I see Labor Department statistics that tell me that 15 percent of all minorities are out of work, that 45.7 percent of all black teen-agers who want work can't get it and that women still earn less than 60 percent of what men make, I do not conclude that the sun spins around the earth and that these results flow from a society in which all opportunity is equal.

Sowell, who believes that it is, seems to have arrived at this conclusion by examining the experiences of Italians in Argentina and explicitly ignoring the history and the current social conditions of America. He has published nonsense. That is not to say that blacks ought not to be doing more for themselves. One of our most vexing problems is the distance that separates many of our economic, professional and civic leaders from our poor. Nor do I say that the current political malaise is entirely unrelated to our inability to marshal our forces at the polls. Much more is required of a people trying to wrest equality from a hostile environment than we have been willing so far to give.

In this quest, government cannot be our salvation, but it must be our ally. And we surely need on our side the aroused consciences of all decent people in America who love this country's principles. I conclude—really quite reluctantly—that a man like Thomas Sowell, who uses his powerful voice to destroy these two preconditions to freedom, is an enemy of the weakest and poorest of his brethren.

ROGER WILKINS

Roger Wilkins, a member of The Nation*'s Editorial Board, is a senior fellow at the Joint Center for Political Studies.*

Realism on Wages

"The minimum wage has caused more misery and unemployment than anything since the Great Depression."
Ronald Reagan, January 1980

Like other forms of economic regulation, the minimum wage has been receiving a good deal of attention from conservative politicians and economists. The American Enterprise Institute (A.E.I.), a conservative think tank, has published a series of monographs critical of it and plans to publish a book on the subject later this year. Senator Orrin Hatch, Republican of Utah, chairman of the Senate Labor and Human Resources

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Committee, has proposed a two-tier minimum that would pay workers who are between 16 and 19 years old 75 percent of the minimum wage for the first six months of their employment. Following the lead of President Ronald Reagan and the A.E.I., Hatch claims his proposal will reduce unemployment among teen-agers by encouraging employers to hire more of them.

The view that a subminimum wage for teen-agers would increase youth employment is no doubt grounded in the folksy vision of neighborhood barbershops and hardware stores suddenly hiring youngsters to sweep floors or stock shelves. But under current law only companies with sales in excess of $325,000 annually are covered by Federal minimum wage legislation, which means that most small neighborhood businesses are already exempt. In addition, businesses grossing more than $325,000 annually already have the option under Section 14 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of paying subminimum wages to some young workers. Yet the Department of Labor estimates that only 60 percent of authorized exemptions are used, which suggests that businesses do not *want* to hire all the teen-agers they legally can. In 1979, exemptions were authorized for about 700,000 workers (512,000 of whom were students). Many of the exemptions were granted to eating and drinking establishments—particularly fast-food restaurants, where three of every ten employees are teen-agers. A 1977 Department of Labor study of McDonald's showed that while the company had received exemptions for 550,000 hours of work, it had utilized only 46 percent of its subminimum wage authorization.

These facts certainly raise the question of whether Hatch's proposed youth wage differential would increase the number of teen-agers hired. Industry spokesmen do not seem to think it would. William Giery, executive secretary of the Foodservice and Lodging Institute, which represents McDonald's, Burger King, Kentucky Fried Chicken and dozens of other multistate restaurant and hotel companies, told *The Washington Post*, "Because of market conditions and our hope to get better qualified employees, we're afraid that even if we got the differential, we'd have something we couldn't use." Don White, vice president of the American Retail Federation, is skeptical that a subminimum wage would lead business to hire unemployed teen-agers: "There has been no indication from my industry that they are willing, ready and able to hire these kids under the provisions of the [Hatch] bill."

The conservative attack on the minimum wage, like the plan for the two-tier minimum, comes from the maxims of economics textbooks. Textbook theory argues that as more workers are hired, the contribution of each additional worker—his or her "marginal product"—diminishes. This is the famous law of diminishing returns. The theory concludes that there are only two ways to increase employment: either increase the productivity of workers or "convince" them to work for lower wages. Accordingly, anything that interferes with lowering wages "creates" unemployment. One might wonder about the wisdom of a proposal based primarily on simplified textbook models, but let it pass. In fact, in modern industry, the "plant in use" generally varies with employment; in other words, additional workers use previously unused machines to produce more goods. Consequently, there is no reason to assume diminishing returns and no reason that wages must drop in order to increase employment. In particular, there is little evidence to suggest that a subminimum wage for teen-agers would decrease teen-age unemployment. But could conservatives be right in claiming that by going further and removing the minimum wage entirely, labor costs would be reduced, more jobs would be created and unemployment would decline? The answer, to quote Sam Goldwyn, is a "definite maybe."

What would happen if the minimum wage were reduced? Wage rates are related to one another, and the minimum wage provides a floor to the wage structure. When the floor drops, it is reasonable to expect other wages to go down with it. Labor costs would certainly decline, which might please some employers. However, if wages drop, so would the ability of consumers to buy goods and services. The total employment effect depends on what happens to demand. If the decline in demand were replaced by an increased demand for exports or by investment demand, employment would not suffer and might even increase. But if the drop in demand were not somehow replaced, the employment effect would be difficult to predict. What is clear is that reducing the minimum wage is part of a program for reducing wages altogether, and there is no reason to assume that it has anything to do with increasing employment.

The minimum wage in the United States is already very low, hovering somewhere below half the average wage in manufacturing. At $3.35 an hour, it is worth a penny less than it was five years ago and almost a dime less than it was in 1968. But this decline in wages for low-wage workers has not improved their employment situation as the textbook theory predicts it should have. The burden of proving that the unemployment problems of these workers result from the existence of the minimum wage rests squarely on the shoulders of conservatives.

In any case, employment is not the central issue in the current debate over the minimum wage. The real issue is the Reagan Administration's program (supported by a Republican Senate) to redistribute income to the wealthy, to weaken organized labor and to reduce the living standards of working people. The attack on the minimum wage fits neatly into this program.

POPULAR ECONOMICS RESEARCH GROUP

The P.E.R.G. is a collection of socialist economists writing out of the Amherst, Massachusetts, area.

ATTENTION TRILLIN READERS

Please note that the title of Calvin Trillin's column has been changed from "Variations" to "Uncivil Liberties," which Mr. Trillin thinks sounds less like a sex manual and more like the collection of his *Nation* columns that will be published in the spring.

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CALVIN TRILLIN

As the leaves begin to fall, I still can't seem to erase from my mind the picture of Ronald Reagan at a reception for mayors in June greeting his own Secretary of Housing and Urban Development by saying, "How are you, Mr. Mayor? How are things in your city?" I realize that most of my brethren in the Washington commentary corps have moved on to other matters by now, although the incident was mentioned by Andy Logan in *The New Yorker* not long ago and was used by *Newsweek* recently as an example of why people in Washington are beginning to wonder if the President might be what *Newsweek* calls "disengaged"—a use of the word that conjures up phrases like "she's really more than a disengaged blonde" or "it was nothing but disengaged luck."

For most of the summer, I was hoping that some witness would come forward to record for history the Secretary's response. I still have no way of knowing whether he replied in a straightforward way ("I am not, in fact, a mayor, Mr. President, but Samuel R. Pierce Jr., the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development") or muttered something sarcastic ("Oh, things in my city are just fine, Mr. President. Most Federal agencies are in the hands of loonies, of course, and the President doesn't recognize his own Cabinet secretaries, but otherwise things are just dandy") or simply panicked ("Jesus God! Let me out of here!") or played along as if the whole thing were just one in a series of joke greetings that folks in the Reagan Administration use to amuse each other when they're not busy salvaging the economy by figuring out ways for rich people to depreciate their Jaguars ("Nice to see you, Count. How's the Countess? Did you ever get that little plumbing problem at the castle attended to?")

I also have no way of checking the accuracy of a number of unverified explanations of the incident that surfaced during the summer—particularly concerning what Andy Logan's piece referred to as "the dangerous implication that to the current President all blacks look alike." I cannot, for instance, verify the story that the President in his Hollywood days got his shoes shined regularly by a locally renowned black man known to his customers as "the mayor of Pico Boulevard." I was told by another source that the Los Angeles man in question was not black, that he was the President's tailor rather than his shoeshine man, that he was not called mayor but named Myer, and that he was the man for whom the President mistook Murray Weidenbaum at a recent reception for leaders of the garment industry ("Fine, thank you, Mr. President, but I am not your tailor. I am the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and am therefore not in a position to say whether a little taking in across the back would be advisable or not"). Maybe the President did greet Treasury Secretary Donald Regan recently by saying, "Another round of Pabst, Paddy, and some potato chips while you're at it," and maybe he didn't.

I have resisted the theory that the President has trouble telling black people apart because the only black person he knows is Sammy Davis Jr. It is true that the Reagan people are always going on about how black people can pull themselves up by their own bootstraps without such Federal extravagances as a hot school lunch, but I'm not convinced that such talk was necessarily inspired by the fact that Sammy Davis Jr., in his early days as a maniacally energetic performer with the Will Mastin Trio, was literally able to pull himself up by his own bootstraps—while continuing to tap dance on his elbows and rendering "Lady of Spain" in the manner of James Cagney.

Just as I was beginning to stop worrying about the implications of this country having as Deputy Secretary of State a man who could not call off the name of the Prime Minister of South Africa, I had to grapple with the fact that we have a President who might not be able to call off the name of the Deputy Secretary of State. Then, suddenly, the economic summit meeting in Canada was on, and I could imagine President Reagan sweeping into the lobby of that old resort hotel they used, his entourage around him and his briefer at his left elbow. "That fellow over there," Reagan says to his briefer, indicating a man who is trying without success to hide behind a potted palm. "Isn't that the old duffer who's always dozing off during National Security Council meetings? The one who tried to get me to invest the Highway Trust money in that shrimp-boat tax shelter?"

"William Casey, sir," the briefer whispers to the President. "Director of the Central Intelligence Agency."

Reagan stops in front of a uniformed man, hands him a $5 bill, and says, "Just have the luggage sent up to the room."

"I am the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Mr. President," the uniformed man says. "We are not allowed to accept gratuities."

The President smiles and extends his hand to the Japanese gentleman approaching him. "Great to see you," he says. "Some beef teriyaki and fried rice this time. I don't like that raw fish."

"You're speaking to the Prime Minister of Japan," the briefer hisses into Reagan's ear.

"Well, why didn't you say so, Ed?"

"Mike, sir. I'm Mike."

The end of my summer was not made more relaxing by those stories about how carefully the President has to be briefed if he is to avoid striking those he meets as, well, disengaged. Now, I keep imagining Reagan preparing for a meeting of his own Cabinet—patiently absorbing his briefing while remaining motionless so that Murray Weidenbaum can make measurements for taking in his jacket across the back a bit. "The wonky one's Stockman," the briefer is saying. "The one in the toga is Haig . . ." When the Cabinet members show up, all of them are wearing the sort of name tags that are used at sales conventions: "Hi! My name is Malcolm Baldrige! I'm the Secretary of Commerce! Glad to meetcha!"

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ARTICLES.

EUROPEAN NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

The E.N.D. of the Beginning

MICHAEL LUCAS

Berlin

In the past nine months, the burgeoning nuclear disarmament movement in Europe has achieved a series of notable successes. Broad-based coalitions have been formed in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium and West Germany to prevent the deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe, which is scheduled to begin in 1983. The opposition is spread over a broad political spectrum—from nonparliamentary radicals to the liberal wings of many of Europe's most important social democratic parties.

This loosely federated popular opposition has been responsible for some of the largest demonstrations in postwar Europe's history and has mobilized European public opinion on a scale that would not have been thought possible a few years ago. It has engineered a major electoral upset in the Netherlands, nudged the British Labor Party into adopting a program of unilateral disarmament and spawned a movement, which has won the backing of the Swedish government, to transform northern Europe into a "nuclear-free zone." Finally, the disarmament movement has become the rallying point of European radical politics.

In October 1980, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (C.N.D.), the British Labor Party and scores of liberal, left, ecological, Communist and church groups held a demonstration in London that drew between 80,000 and 100,000 people, an unexpectedly large turnout. The event marked the dramatic rebirth of the British disarmament movement, which had been in the vanguard of the international "antibomb" campaigns of the 1950s. An important catalyst in the spectacular growth of the C.N.D. during the past year—the number of affiliated groups went from 30 to 300—was the decision of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government to bow to U.S. pressure and agree to station 160 cruise missiles on British territory. Despite opposition within the British Defense Ministry, the government has also agreed to purchase Trident I missiles from the United States for its nuclear-powered submarines. The £5 billion price tag alone has been denounced by liberal, left and conservative critics, who point out that the Trident will do nothing for the country's unemployment problem—more than 2.6 million Britons are now out of work—nor will it restore peace to its riot-torn cities or improve the British balance of payments. The Labor Party has criticized the deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe and pledged to cancel the Trident deal if it comes to power. The powerful Trades Union Congress has also come out for unilateral disarmament.

In the parliamentary elections held in the Netherlands last summer, the leftist D-66 party, whose candidates campaigned on an antinuclear platform, scored a large vote gain and made inroads into the traditional constituency of the Christian and Social Democrats. Public information campaigns, demonstrations, peace fairs and other forms of protest have won the highly vocal Dutch disarmament movement broad support. A petition campaign against the neutron bomb sponsored by the Dutch Communist Party has collected more than a million signatures, a significant number in a nation of only 13 million people.

In Belgium, public protest against the missiles is also on the rise. Mass protests last spring forced the government to withhold its full endorsement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's decision to deploy the Euromissiles; while tentatively accepting the plan, the Belgian government stressed the need for continuing U.S.-Soviet negotiations on medium-range missiles.

In northern Europe, where the antinuclear movement has deeper roots, the Swedish Parliament voted unanimously last June "to do all within its power to remove all nuclear weapons from Northern Europe." Although the campaign to transform Scandinavia into a nuclear-free zone has been going on for more than thirty years, it has never before had the parliamentary and popular support shown in recent months. Even Norway, which has traditionally maintained strong NATO ties, is having second thoughts about nuclear weapons. In an unusual move, Thorvald Stoltenberg, Norway's Defense Minister, announced that the leading political parties of Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Finland had agreed that, should Scandinavia become a nuclear-free zone, its nonnuclear integrity must be respected by NATO members as well as by the Warsaw Pact nations. The Defense Minister's comments were in part a response to pressure from the United States and the NATO command for a weapons depot on Norwegian territory not far from the Soviet border. Although the proposal was opposed by Norway's Labor Party and by disarmament experts, who argued that such a facility, which would store artillery capable of firing nuclear weapons, would upset the military balance between northern Europe and the Soviet Union, it has been approved by Prime Minister Gro Harlem Bruntland's government, which also agreed to the stockpiling of fuel and ammunition at Norwegian airports for possible use by U.S. planes.

NATO's decision to station cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in central Europe, the ill-timed announcement that the United States will manufacture the neutron bomb and Washington's hair-raising rhetoric about the new "Soviet threat" have boomeranged in northern Europe. They have triggered greater anxiety about U.S. saber rattling than potential Soviet aggression. A plethora of antiwar groups

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throughout Scandinavia have joined in demanding nuclear disarmament by both the United States and the Soviet Union.

When Foreign Minister Knut Frydenlund of Norway flew to Washington this summer to explain the outbreak of "pacifism" on NATO's northern flank, a Norwegian newspaper proclaimed: "Norway is not an atomic vassal of the United States," and accused the United States of endangering the balance of military power in northern Europe. This balance is a carefully constructed edifice of neutrality and deterrence based on three inseparable principles: NATO membership for Norway, Denmark and Iceland; neutrality for Sweden; and a political-military assistance pact between Finland and the Soviet Union. While Finland enjoys close economic and political ties with its Communist neighbor, it maintains independent security forces and does not permit Soviet troops on Finnish territory. An American military buildup in either northern or central Europe would severely threaten the delicate military and political arrangements, upon which Scandinavian security is based, which have enabled northern Europe to steer a relatively safe course between the superpowers for more than thirty years.

In the past, efforts to make Scandinavia a nuclear-free zone have foundered on Norway's refusal to participate. When, for example, President Urho Kekkonen of Finland presented such a plan in 1963, Norway joined NATO's denunciation of the proposal as a "Soviet plot." The Norwegians said they would participate only if the Soviet Union removed its missiles from the Kola Peninsula and the Baltic coast. The Russians refused, arguing that the ICBMs in question were aimed at the United States, not at northern Europe.

But in the intervening years Norwegian public opinion has undergone a sea change, and in a recent survey, 69 percent of those polled favored a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe. At a conference held in Stockholm at the end of May, Norway dropped its demand that the Soviet missiles be removed. The Labor Party, which was turned out in elections this September, had voted at its 1981 convention to rid Scandinavia of nuclear weapons and ultimately to extend the ban to all of Europe. But the new Prime Minister, Kare Willoch, a Conservative, has announced that his government will not support the nuclear-free-zone concept, which should be a welcome piece of news in Washington.

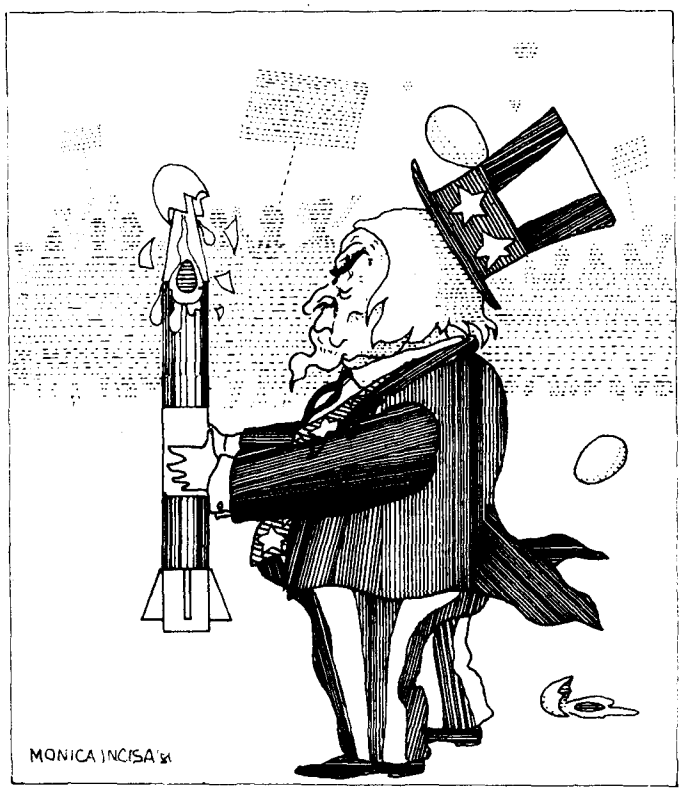
The Scandinavian disarmament movement has become an irritant to both superpowers. The Reagan Administration views the Scandinavian initiatives as hindering its efforts to enlist the support of America's North Atlantic partners for higher military budgets and for the stationing of a new generation of weapons in Europe.

As for the Soviet Union, the Scandinavian movement has challenged it to put up or shut up on the question of genuine disarmament. The Russians have invested considerable political capital in an effort to block the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles. The deployment of these medium-range weapons would qualitatively increase the American threat to the Soviet Union's cities and military facilities and would force it to divert precious national resources to the development of Pershing- and cruise-type missiles of its own. This would severely strain the domestic economy at a time of deepening economic and political crisis in the Soviet bloc. These and other pressures have led Leonid Brezhnev to announce that his government might be willing to include parts of Soviet territory in a nuclear-free northern Europe and "to take account of the military interests of Scandinavian countries."

While Brezhnev's proffered concessions were not spelled out in any detail, they nevertheless represent an unprecedented departure from the standard Russian disarmament proposals. There are six missile-carrying Soviet atomic submarines on permanent patrol in the Baltic Sea. Soviet missiles around Leningrad are pretargeted on Scandinavia. These weapons systems could become the subject of disarmament talks if the movement for a nuclear-free northern Europe can pressure the governments involved to move beyond encouraging, but still vague, diplomatic hints and pronouncements.

There are, of course, no nuclear weapons in northern Europe now. Seven thousand U.S.-controlled nuclear warheads are presently located in central Europe, and the majority of these are bunkered in the Federal Republic of Germany, giving it the dubious honor of having the heaviest concentration of nuclear weapons per square mile of any nation in the world.

To understand why the furor in West Germany over nuclear weapons has set in motion what is potentially the most violent and politically explosive antinuclear movement in Western Europe, we need only consider the country's so-called "forward-defense" system, which consists of not only an assortment of variously calibered nuclear missiles,



DRAWINGS BY MONICA INCISA

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bombs and artillery shells targeted at East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other nations in Eastern Europe but also atomic mines programmed to wreak destruction within West Germany itself. There are also thirty-six Lance missile systems capable of firing up to 100-kiloton warheads aimed at strategic points inside West Germany. Targets include the Hamburg-Kiel and Munich-Augsberg expressways. Under the mad logic of NATO's Götterdämmerung national defense system, the Russians will be atomized after they have occupied West Germany—along with the West Germans. The phrase "better dead than Red" is thus elevated to strategic doctrine.

In December 1979, NATO called for the siting of 108 Pershing 2 and 116 cruise missiles in West Germany. The agreement on deployment is known as the "double-track" decision because European approval was made conditional on assurances by the United States that it would resume talks with the Soviet Union on strategic missiles. The Reagan Administration's scrapping of SALT II and its avowed goal of achieving superiority over the Soviet Union in all categories of nuclear weapons have produced profound distrust in West Germany of U.S. disarmament intentions. The doubts about U.S. credibility have caused a major political crisis for Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's government, which staunchly supports the NATO decision. At its convention earlier this year, the Social Democratic Party overwhelmingly passed a resolution calling upon the government to reconsider its acceptance of the missiles. A more strongly worded proposal, demanding outright rejection of the missiles, failed to pass by a narrow margin. Organizations affiliated with the Social Democrats, like the Working Community of S.D.P. Women, which has more than 200,000 members, and the Young Socialists, have unequivocally opposed the siting of Pershing and cruise missiles on German soil.

The growing and increasingly bitter split within the S.D.P. is reflected in the recent expulsion of Karl-Heinz Hansen for publicly attacking Schmidt on the disarmament issue. Outside the party, the wave of antinuclear demonstrations and what has become an agonizing national debate on military security continue unabated. Contributing to a rising sense of public dismay, outrage and even horror are revelations in the press of bits and pieces of secret NATO defense plans for West Germany. At the annual Church Day held in early June, more than 120,000 people took part in five days of panel and workshop discussions on the subject of atomic weapons and disarmament. When Defense Minister Hans Apel began his scheduled address, he had to be protected by shield-carrying police from a hail of eggs, tomatoes and other flying objects. At another discussion, a group of medical students doused themselves with blood and distributed leaflets warning of the horrors of a European "theater" war. In tacit recognition of the West German peace movement, S.D.P. leaders participated in a Peace Forum in August with prominent antinuclear activists. Such actions are symptomatic of the emotionally charged polarization of West German society today—as are, in a more ominous sense, the bombings of U.S. military bases by a revived Red Army Faction.

The disarmament movement in West Germany and in Europe as a whole is cresting at a time of deepening economic and political crisis coupled with the increasing divergence of U.S. and European security interests. Europe cannot afford a new cold war that would destroy the achievements of the last ten years of European-Soviet détente—and in the process substantially elevate the risk of a war in which Europe would be destroyed. Opposition to the deployment of more U.S. atomic missiles on the Continent is shared by the Western European ruling elites and the rapidly growing popular movements. While this is by no means a guarantee that the Reagan Administration's attempt to polarize East-West relations will be defeated, it does reflect widening fissures in the Atlantic alliance and points to the fact that a new chapter in the history of the

WRITERS CONGRESS LIVE COVERAGE

Victor Navasky and Kurt Vonnegut will appear on a *Today Show* segment Friday, October 9, between 7 and 9 A.M. Friday night's keynote addresses by Toni Morrison and Meridel LeSueur will be broadcast in New York on WBAI at 7:30 P.M. The keynote panel, "Writers and American Society," will be broadcast at 8:30 A.M., October 10. Consult your Pacifica and National Public Radio listings to find the station in your area.

TO ALL AMERICAN WRITERS CONGRESS PARTICIPANTS:

Please note the following:

Friday October 9

Registration: 11:00 A.M.—7:00 P.M.

Censorship Hearings: 12:00—7:00 P.M.

Federal Support of Literature Hearings: 12:00—6:00 P.M.

Writers Grievances Hearings: 12:00—2:00 P.M.

Cocktails: 6:00—7:00 P.M.

Keynote Speeches

Meridel LeSueur and Toni Morrison: 7:30—8:30 P.M.

Reception in Honor of the Inviting Committee: 8:30 P.M.

Registration will continue October 10 and 11 from 8:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. The program on Saturday will start at 9:30 A.M. and continue to 7:30 P.M. On Sunday the program starts at 9:00 A.M., ending after the plenary session at 9:00 P.M. A complete program of events, including entertainment and general information, will be available at the door. We look forward to seeing you.

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disarmament movement is in the process of being written. The danger of atomic world war is perhaps greater than it has ever been. But from the vantage point of Europe, it is clear that the movement against this danger has never been as well informed, as politically mobilized and as effectively organized as it is today. □

POLITICS AND PESTICIDES

The California Fruit Fly Wars

PETER SCHRAG

Sacramento, Calif.

Aside from its damaging effects on California's $14 billion agricultural industry, the most significant thing about this state's ongoing Mediterranean fruit fly infestation is that it can so easily be read (or misread) as an agricultural problem caused by an excess of environmental concern. "The lesson of the flies," said *The Wall Street Journal* in July, is that "the radical fringe of the environmental movement will not likely again embarrass a politician the way it has embarrassed California Governor Jerry Brown. . . . The environmental radicals have most likely seen their political power peak out and head downward with the Medfly episode." For *The Journal*, and for a great many California growers, it was a sort of *Silent Spring* in reverse, an ecological and economic disaster brought on by a surfeit of woolly-headed environmental concern. At a time when environmental protections are under attack, it's a lesson that is as dangerous as it is false.

The facts, of course, aren't all in; there is sharp disagreement between officials of the California Department of Food and Agriculture (C.D.F.A.), which under Brown has become probably the most environmentally sensitive agency of its kind in the country, and the pesticide hawks of the U.S. Department of Agriculture about why a major infestation suddenly erupted in July after the pest was thought to have been all but eradicated in early June. What is certain, however, is that last spring, the C.D.F.A. was confident that the state had brought the medfly situation under control without having to resort to aerial spraying of the pesticide malathion, which has been the heart of this controversy from the beginning and which, since July, has been the major weapon in the fight. It is also certain that the chief defenders of California's efforts to control the pest without aerial spraying were not "the environmental radicals" to whom *The Wall Street Journal* referred but people like John Thurman, the San Joaquin Valley dairy farmer who heads the Agriculture Committee of the California Assembly and who has never before been called a radical by anybody. It was Thurman as much as anyone who pulled the original California program together and ran political interference for it.

No one questions the fact that in the six months after the first flies were found in the Santa Clara Valley in June 1980, the C.D.F.A.'s response was casual and confused. "The whole bunch over there could have screwed up a three-car funeral procession," Thurman said later. "They stood around wringing their hands like a bunch of old ladies." The C.D.F.A. set too few traps, analysis of whether the flies that were trapped were sterile was delayed because they were sent to the state's laboratories by third class mail, and the agency's field technicians seemed to have no comprehension of the urgency of the problem. Nor is there any question that when the potential seriousness was first suspected, there was disagreement among the experts about the wisdom of aerial spraying, and mounting pressure against it from residents and politicians in the affected areas. Malathion is not Agent Orange or DDT—it is generally regarded as safe in the concentrations used for this purpose—but the thought of helicopters spraying the chemical on homes and gardens aroused fear among many people. Resolutions against aerial spraying were passed in several communities, and the state was threatened with lawsuits and worse if it sent helicopters into the area. (A number of those threats were carried out when the spraying was begun in September; helicopters have been shot at and several million dollars in lawsuits have already been filed.)

As a practical matter, it was probably pointless to spray during the winter, since the pest lay dormant in the ground. And many experts believed that the medfly could not survive the cool winter climate of the Santa Clara Valley —although the only evidence to support this belief was one

Peter Schrag is the editor of the editorial page of The Sacramento Bee.

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thirty-year-old study. The state, with the concurrence of U.S.D.A. officials, finally decided on a program that included ground spraying with insecticides, stripping fruit from trees in the affected areas and introducing millions of sterile flies to mate with any fertile flies that might survive the winter and the ground spraying. A technical committee made up of state and Federal officials was set up to conduct and monitor the program and to establish criteria of success and failure. If less than a specified number of flies and maggots were found after so many days of warm temperatures in the spring, aerial spraying probably would not be necessary. If flies or larvae were found in large numbers, there would be no choice but to spray.

By March of this year, both the technicians and the agricultural community were cautiously optimistic. "It is believed," said the president of the California-Arizona Citrus League, "that the program is going well and that the infestation will be eradicated in a reasonably expeditious manner. . . . A major danger now is not prospective damage from the fly, but from unjustified criticism of the project." What the growers were worried about was an embargo of California produce, which could do far more damage to the state's economy than the fly could. Texas, in fact, tried to do just that, but backed down under pressure from the U.S.D.A. and the Federal courts.

By late May, the optimism was less cautious, and even some of those who had favored aerial spraying the year before acknowledged that California's dovish program appeared to have worked. On May 22, Donald Dilley, the head of the technical review committee, declared that "things are looking very good," and by June 1, Jerry Scribner, who was in charge of the C.F.D.A. program, said, "We're not uncorking the champagne yet, but it looks like we've gotten through the critical period." No flies had been found for nearly three weeks, and the project was beginning to be phased down. A third of the 600 people who had worked in the program—ground spraying and collecting fruit that had been stripped from the trees—were laid off. No larvae had been found at all, which indicated that there would be no new generation of flies. For years, environmentalists have been promoting "integrated pest management" (I.P.M.), the employment of a combination of chemical and biological means to control agricultural pests, in place of the indiscriminate use of chemical pesticides. The medfly program was one of the largest—and appeared to be one of the most successful—I.P.M. experiments yet conducted.

There is no agreement on what went wrong after that. Scribner and Brown still insist that they had the problem licked in early June and that the larvae found in rapidly growing numbers in Santa Clara and Santa Cruz counties later in the month were the offspring of a large batch of supposedly sterile flies from Peru that had not been properly irradiated. "It is now an undisputed fact," Scribner would tell the legislature in September, "that at least 50,000 wild, nonirradiated Peruvian medflies were released in the Mountain View Gap on June 14." That release, in his opinion, was the only explanation for the hundreds of larvae that were turning up in gardens and orchards across a 600-square-mile area.

The U.S.D.A., which was partially responsible for procuring and checking the Peruvian flies, disputes that finding, claiming there is no real evidence that fertile Peruvian flies caused the problem. The dye on the sterile Peruvian flies could have rubbed off on some fertile flies caught in the same traps; the fact that they were the same color as the Peruvian flies didn't prove they were from the Peruvian shipment. In any case, the U.S.D.A. said, the pattern of larval discoveries after June 14 did not coincide as neatly with the release of the Peruvian flies as Scribner claimed. It was, in short, not the flies that failed but the program in which they were used. The state should have been aerial spraying from the beginning. By early July, it was clear to all—including the technical committee—that there was no choice but to take to the air. In the warm weather, the flies were multiplying and spreading with awesome speed, and there was no more time to strip and ground spray.

It was at this point, nonetheless, that Brown, who had almost nothing to do with the medfly program previously, ordered the C.D.F.A. not to begin aerial spraying. "Subjecting 500,000 people—including pregnant women, infants and children—to six or more aerial applications of a toxic pesticide is not an acceptable alternative to a safer, effective ground-spray operation," Brown announced, thereby contradicting not only the agricultural experts but also his own health officials, all of whom had declared the proposed aerial spraying of malathion to be safe—probably safer, in fact, than the ground spraying that had been going on for the previous six months.

Within forty-eight hours, the Reagan Administration forced Brown to reverse himself by threatening to quarantine all California produce if aerial spraying weren't begun, thus taking sides in the fight between anti-pesticide doves and pro-pesticide hawks. The doves conjured up the bogey of ultimate environmental weapons—DDT, coal dust, cotton dust, PCBs, microwaves, X-rays, vinyl chloride and scores of others—while the hawks cried, "Spray the bugs; it's the only language they understand."

In that sort of confrontation, the fruit fly fight had to go to the hawks, for even if the I.P.M. theory was correct, the Peruvian fly disaster had to be reckoned with in precisely the same way that errors in mixing or applying chemicals were reckoned into the long string of pesticide disasters on which dovish fears were so properly founded.

Yet until Brown (and then Reagan) jumped in, the issue was a narrowly technical one. To the extent it was something else, to the extent that there was a "lesson of the flies," it was just as much a lesson for the pesticide hawks—the growers, the chemical manufacturers, the ag experts who could no longer be believed because their repeated claims that unsafe materials were safe had been proved false—as it was for doves like Brown, who exaggerated the health hazards of every technological attempt to control the environment. So far, the important concept on which Califor-

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nia's year-long effort to eradicate the medfly was originally based has not been fully verified, but it has not been refuted either. If the fruit fly infestation represents a major failure attributable to excessive environmental caution, it is almost certainly the first. That may be the most notable thing about it. □

NATION OF PRIVATE ARMIES

Israel's Game In Lebanon

MILTON VIORST

Beirut

Israel's aerial offensive in Lebanon last July was aimed at the Palestinians, but its chief victims may actually have been the Lebanese who continue to work, against almost hopeless odds, for the restoration of a viable state.

For a quarter of a century, Lebanon, its government fragile but still in working order, was the only country on Israel's perimeter with which Israel had waged no war. Even then, most Lebanese recognized that without peace their government was unlikely to survive. The situation changed only after the Palestine Liberation Organization, driven out of Jordan in 1970 by King Hussein, shifted its operations to Lebanon, where several hundred thousand Palestinian refugees had lived in sullen impotence since the Arab defeat in 1948. By the early 1970s, the P.L.O. had made Lebanon into a base for promoting its strategic goal of winning Palestine back from the Israelis. The Lebanese government, too weak to fight back, promptly collapsed.

Since then, Lebanon has been not only a battleground between Israel and the Palestinians but also the arena of a civil war. The Israeli-Palestinian struggle is only a sideshow, but a settlement to the civil war is inconceivable as long as it goes on. Among Lebanese, a tacit understanding exists that any settlement of the civil war must restore control of the country to their hands. That means putting severe limits on the freedom the P.L.O. now enjoys—including the freedom to do battle with Israel on Lebanese soil—in an environment of internal chaos. Yet Israel's massive attacks help perpetuate the chaos.

Admittedly, the Lebanese have only themselves to blame for the deterioration of their state. It can be argued that, even without intrusion from Israel or the presence of a half-million Palestinians in the country, the Lebanese would still be at one another's throats. Outside influences were, at most, the catalyst that transformed steady political deterioration into civil war. During the worst of the fighting in 1975 and 1976, Lebanese managed to slaughter Lebanese by the tens of thousands.

Milton Viorst, author of Fire in the Streets: America in the 1960's *(Simon and Schuster), writes frequently on the Middle East.*

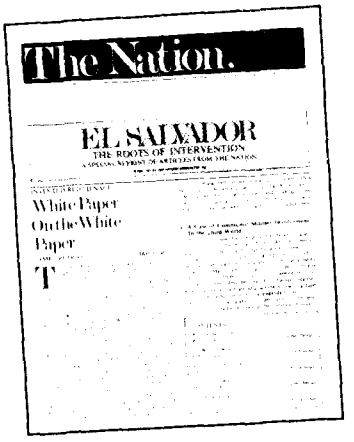
NOTICE TO OUR READERS

Thanks to the generous support of the New York Council for the Humanities, the following three panels at the American Writers Congress will be open to the public.

Language as Ideology
Saturday, October 10
12:15 to 2:00 P.M.
York Suite, Roosevelt Hotel
James Baldwin, moderator ● Ariel Dorfman ● George Lakoff ● Edmund White ● Kate Swift ● Casey Miller ● Michael Thelwell

Have Writers Discarded History?
Sunday, October 11
9:00 to 11:00 A.M.
Madison Room, Roosevelt Hotel
Alan Trachtenberg, moderator ● Nell Irvin Painter ● E. L. Doctorow ● Herbert Gutman ● Katherine Sklar

The Politics of Literacy
Sunday, October 11
2:00 to 4:00 P.M.
Broadway Suite, Roosevelt Hotel
Helen Johnson, moderator ● Lorenzo Thomas ● Thomas Wheeler ● Helena Quintana ● Donald Lazere ● Roberto Vargas



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For the past five years, the Syrians have occupied much of the country, acting under a general Arab authorization to keep a lid on the violence. The Syrian presence has reduced the level of killing significantly. But relations between Lebanon's contending factions have probably worsened during this period, and it is generally conceded that if the Syrian forces left today, full-scale civil war might very well resume tomorrow.

The problem of Lebanon, at bottom, is that it is a highly diverse society whose members, though all products of Arab civilization, have never come even close to achieving a consensus on how to run their country—or, in fact, on whether it should be a country at all. Lebanon would not even exist had not the French, foreseeing the end of their empire after World War I, created it to assure the perpetuation of a friendly presence at the eastern end of the Mediterranean.

Within the borders the French drew up, not only do the people disagree among themselves on politics, economics, religion, race and external relations but their views assume so many different combinations and permutations that Lebanese are splintered into numerous contending groups, each of which seems to be so sure of its rectitude that it views all others with contempt, preferring persistent confrontation to social compromise. A Lebanese state still exists—on paper—but it is a feeble mediator between factions at best; at worst, its authority is disdainfully dismissed. The situation in Beirut is the most obvious example of the anarchy—or, more charitably, the feudalism—into which Lebanon has fallen.

The eastern sector of Beirut is under the control of Bashir Gemayel's powerful Phalange Party, the highly authoritarian force that speaks for most of the country's Maronite Christians. The Phalange has been fighting to achieve nothing less than a return to the era when a Maronite minority ran Lebanon to suit itself. To this end, it has become a military protégé of Israel, which supplies it with weapons and other support.

West Beirut is, in a manner of speaking, governed by the Lebanese National Movement, a loose-knit coalition headed by Walid Jumblatt, a mild-mannered Druze whose family has a long history of involvement in left-wing politics. The groups making up the National Movement are often called "leftists," but they actually have little in common with the Lebanese left beyond a bitter opposition to the goals of the Phalangists and a tactical commitment to the P.L.O. There are Sunnis, Shias, Christians of diverse sects and Druzes; Marxists, state socialists and capitalists; parliamentary democrats, constitutional republicans, Stalinists, Bonapartists and Fascists; Nasserites, Greater Syrians, Lebanese Nationalists, Syrian Baathists, Iraqi Baathists and Pan-Arabs; Islamics, Pan-Islamics, secularists and Khomeini-ites. Whatever their beliefs, they tend to hold to them fiercely, admitting little room for alternate truths.

The National Movement drifted into an alliance of convenience with the P.L.O. by force of circumstance. The Phalangists, for their part, are Western-oriented and therefore generally indifferent to Arab aspirations. They reacted angrily to the growing military power of the P.L.O. in Lebanon. In retrospect, P.L.O. leaders concede that they probably provoked the Phalangists unnecessarily in the early days of the civil war. Since then, they have often had to remind themselves that their struggle is not against the Phalange but against Israel. Even within the National Movement, however, there is a serious question about how strong and enduring the Lebanese commitment to the Palestinian cause is.

Whatever their differences, the Phalange and the National Movement mirror each other in being heavily armed. The Phalange, unified and more highly trained, exercises what amounts to an iron grip on East Beirut. In contrast, the National Movement lacks central guidance and discipline. It is made up of small private armies, with anywhere from a few dozen to a few hundred members. Some are more trigger-happy than others, but none seem reluctant to use their weapons, often rather casually, to enforce their will.

Each of these groups has staked out a sector of West Beirut. To cross a frontier between sectors, one must pass a checkpoint, normally manned by several young toughs wearing distinctive insignia and carrying automatic weapons. Within its perimeter, each group is more or less sovereign. In return for services, rendered or not, it collects taxes, which creates a pattern of exchange that can also be described as racketeering. It is the money these groups extort from shopkeepers, hotel managers, company directors and householders that keeps their armies in food and guns.

The racketeering in Beirut—at which the Phalangists are the acknowledged masters—is one of the hidden themes of the ongoing civil war. In the struggle for "turf," groups jostle continually against one another. Sometimes new groups are formed, professing some eclectic ideology, to challenge the profits of old ones. The blood of bystanders and participants is spilled indiscriminately in encounters that few outsiders can ever hope to understand. Rarely in Beirut does an hour pass without the firing of weapons somewhere within earshot.

The Lebanese government long ago gave up trying to stop this private warfare, leaving that task to the Syrians, who patrol the great avenues of Beirut and generally try to keep the hostile factions apart. But, at best, the Syrians maintain a tense watch over the status quo. They went into battle this spring against the Phalange, which had tried to enlarge its domain by seizing the mountain city of Zahle, and after an extended siege they forced the Phalange to evacuate. There are some signs that the Syrians have had enough of such peacekeeping activities, which cost them heavily in men and money. But they cannot leave without having some other group assume responsibility for enforcing public order. Ideally, of course, it should be the Lebanese government. If Lebanon is to function again as a country, everyone agrees, the authority of the central government must somehow be restored.

Any analysis of how that restoration is to be accomplished must start with the Palestinians. They too rule over a sector of Beirut, as well as over their enclave in southern

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Lebanon. The P.L.O. serves, in fact, as the effective government of the 400,000 to 500,000 Palestinians living in Lebanon. For them, the P.L.O. is not just a symbol of struggle, as it is for the Palestinians in Jordan or the Gulf, but an ongoing, benevolent political presence. Yet, while the P.L.O.'s fiefdom is only one among dozens like it, the Palestinians agree with the Lebanese that they are foreigners, whose stay, though protracted, cannot be considered permanent.

Aggravating the discomfort of the P.L.O. is the Shias' recent entry upon Lebanon's crowded political stage. The Shias, expelled from the territory in southern Lebanon now occupied by the Palestinians, demand their homeland back, just as the Palestinians demand theirs back from Israel. The Shias' organization, called *Amal* (hope), appears to be brimming with funds from Khomeini's Iran, and it is putting heavy pressure on the National Movement to loosen the Palestinian hold. In a typical Lebanese irony, the Shias, product of the most intolerant wing of Islam, are dangling the prospect of making common cause with the most intolerant of the Christian factions, the Phalange.

Many analysts here believe that the process of reconciliation among Lebanese can start only after the Palestinians, in agreement with Israel, leave the country to resettle in their own homeland. Neither the Phalange nor the National Movement will agree to disarm as long as a Palestinian military force hovers about to threaten them, and without disarmament of the private armies there can be no rebuilding of the state. Many Lebanese argue that until Israel consents to treat the Palestinian question seriously, factional confrontation must inevitably continue.

But others, a trifle more hopeful, contend that some semblance of order—however fragile—might be restored if the country experienced a few months of tranquillity, during which tempers cooled and suspicions ebbed. A period which met that description did, in fact, begin this spring, after the Syrians and the Phalangists stopped their fighting in Zahle, and it produced a glimmer of optimism among the Lebanese. A high-powered committee from the Arab world began to explore the prospects for an accord, and to show his good will, Gemayel even declared that he would withdraw the Phalange from under Israel's wing.

No one believed that a settlement was at hand, and few even took seriously Gemayel's pledge to break with Israel. But it is generally agreed that if the Lebanese could somehow get together and establish a government with real powers, its first priority would be to regain control of the south and keep the Palestinians from waging constant border warfare. The Lebanese Army already has a 1,200-man force in the area. With Syria's consent—conveying with it a potential for intervention by the Syrian Army—the Lebanese contingent could conceivably be expanded into a real peacekeeping force. But on July 10, Israel resumed its bombing in the south and a week later attacked Beirut, abruptly terminating the period of calm and bringing in its wake an atmosphere of angry political disarray.

The Lebanese had no trouble understanding Israel's objective in attacking the Palestinians. Dismissed out of hand was the explanation that the targets were military. In the south, Israel had no hope of seriously weakening the P.L.O.'s military capacity from the air, and in fact the reprisals against Israel's northern settlements were the most successful the P.L.O. has ever undertaken. As for Beirut, it was hardly worth 300 innocent lives to kill a handful of low-level, dissident P.L.O. bureaucrats whose danger to Israel was insignificant, if there was any danger at all.

What is taken for granted here is that Israel intended a program of massive destruction, with the casualties such a program necessarily entails. Otherwise it made no sense to bomb and shell densely populated neighborhoods in downtown Beirut and refugee camps in the south. As the Lebanese understand it, Israel's objective is nothing less than to destroy the structure of Palestinian life, ripping apart the fabric of Palestinian society, and some of them are even quietly sympathetic to this objective.

Less clear is what Israel is trying to do to Lebanon itself. Few see it as a coincidence that the massive raids occurred just after the Syrian truce with the Phalange, the Arab mediation initiative, Gemayel's threat to break away and the rumors that special American envoy Philip Habib, sent to the Middle East to end the Syrian-Israeli missile stalemate, would move next to resolve the Lebanese crisis itself. Prime Minister Menachem Begin has often proclaimed his interest in Lebanon's internal affairs, and even boasted in the Knesset once of his concern for Gemayel. All this suggests that Israel, while raiding Palestinian strongholds, also has political designs on Lebanon.

It seems obvious that Israel does not want a settlement of the Lebanese crisis. No doubt the Begin government calculates that the only conceivable settlement is one that would leave Lebanon a Syrian protectorate. Whatever Lebanese forces move south to discipline the Palestinians would be beholden to the Syrian Army and might even be under its command. Israel does not want Syria to come any closer to its northern border, even if tighter military control over the P.L.O. is one of the potential benefits.

Any settlement, moreover, would put huge pressure on Israel to relinquish its control over Major Haddad's puppet state, which it established as a buffer in southern Lebanon. A settlement would also bring with it more U.N. peacekeeping forces, over which Israel has little influence. The option Israel has chosen—helping to perpetuate Lebanon's disarray—would leave the P.L.O. with a free hand in the south, but it would also safeguard Israel's own free hand to fight back in any way it likes. Israel would rather do the job of suppressing the Palestinians itself than entrust the responsibility to others in whom it has no confidence.

A decade or more ago, it was often said in these parts that Lebanon would be the second Arab state to sign a peace treaty with Israel. The observation reflected the belief that to survive, the Lebanese state needed peace. It also reflected the government's condition at that time—too weak to sign first but strong enough to overcome internal opposition and jump on a bandwagon. Now, practically speaking, there is

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no Lebanese state—and Israel seems determined to make sure that none is re-created. Thus, Israel seems to have selected a course that rules out any possibility of peace at all. □

INDEPENDENT PACS

Have Calumny, Will Travel

JANE STONE

Just a few days after the November elections, the National Conservative Political Action Committee (N.C.P.A.C., commonly known as "Nick-pack") held a news conference to announce its hit list for 1982. It was a brassy, audacious gesture that rubbed the Democrats' noses in the enormousness of what they had lost on November 4.

That so many people came to listen was testimony not only to the emergence of the New Right as a hot political story but also to N.C.P.A.C.'s sudden prominence on the national political scene. Almost unknown until the 1980 elections, its bitter, and largely negative, campaign—that is, one directed against, not for, a specific candidate—made it, if not a household word, at least a name not to be taken lightly in the House or in the Senate.

In 1980, N.C.P.A.C. targeted with its dollars President Jimmy Carter and six Democratic Senators—Birch Bayh of Indiana, Frank Church of Idaho, Alan Cranston of California, John Culver of Iowa, George McGovern of South Dakota and Thomas Eagleton of Missouri. With the exceptions of Cranston and Eagleton, all were defeated. For 1982, N.C.P.A.C. has marked, among others, Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio, Donald Riegle Jr. of Michigan and Paul Sarbanes of Maryland.

The activities of N.C.P.A.C. have been heralded as the opening shots in a new era of the electoral battle: the rise of the ideological political action committee unaffiliated with either of the major parties. Only it is not the PACs that are independent—it is their expenditures. An independent political action committee's expenditures are considered independent because the committee is not aligned with any one candidate or party; its financial outlays must be made without the candidate's (or his authorized committee's) knowledge or approval. Beyond this requirement, there is no limit on the amount a PAC can spend on any candidate; nor do its expenditures count against the $29.4 million limit imposed on Presidential candidates who accept public financing.

N.C.P.A.C. is not the only independent political action committee. It was not even the biggest spender in 1980. That

Jane Stone is the editor of The Congress Watcher, *a Public Citizen newspaper. Public Citizen is an organization founded by Ralph Nader.*

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distinction fell to the Congressional Club, a North Carolina-based group whose honorary chairman is Republican Senator Jesse Helms. The Congressional Club spent $4.6 million during the last election, with virtually all the money going to Ronald Reagan's Presidential campaign. (It has raised $2.4 million during the first six months of 1981.) N.C.P.A.C. was the second largest spender, disbursing almost $3.3 million.

The total expenditures of independent PACs in the 1980 elections were $16.1 million. That is twenty times the amount recorded in the 1976 elections, when independent campaign spending first came into wide use. While the most recent reports on PAC spending come from Federal Election Commission (F.E.C.) data on PAC contributions to campaign treasuries, this is the first analysis of the money these PACs have spent independently.

My analysis of the F.E.C. figures shows that 81 percent—or $13.4 million—of the $16.1 million handed out in the 1980 elections was disbursed by the ideologically conservative PACs. Liberal PACs spent less than 1 percent of the total; labor PACs, 0.4 percent; corporate PACs, 0.3 percent; trade association PACs, 10.4 percent, and individuals, 6.4 percent [for the major spenders, see box]. Independent PACs spent $6 million for Reagan, as compared with $18,500 for Carter. Even though it is unclear what their effect will be on upcoming elections—and how much they had to do with the conservative victories of 1980, for that matter—the conservative PACs are here to stay. "History has shown that it is never possible to separate the power of money from the power of politics," said a lobbyist for the Christian Voice Moral Government Fund. "Election laws just don't work."

But even the most ardent conservative candidates accept the embraces of the New Right PACs somewhat sheepishly. Not that they are unappreciative of the PACs' efforts; they are, however, reluctant to be too closely identified with groups that run television ads featuring dead fetuses and label opponents "baby killers." Consequently, the recipients of conservative PAC money try to downplay its effects. This is exemplified by the remarks of Senator Charles Grassley, who was the beneficiary of the commercials described above in his race against liberal incumbent John Culver in Iowa. N.C.P.A.C., Grassley told the press after his election, "had a somewhat negative impact" on his election bid because of the "flamboyant" and "negative" campaign the group ran against Culver. To which a spokesman for the Christian Voice Moral Government Fund commented: "That's O.K. He probably had no other political choice but to berate us. We just wanted him in office, and if deriding us will help him stay in office, that's O.K. by us."

N.C.P.A.C.'s efforts in the Grassley-Culver race were a textbook case of independent conservative political action committee strategy: hit 'em, hit 'em often and hit 'em anywhere you can. Independent PACs are the shock troops of the New Right. "We're not interested in respectability," says John Terrence Dolan, the committee's chairman. "We're going to beat [them] and send a shiver down the spines of . . . senators and congressmen."

"Images are important, not issues," Dolan explains. "We start early and use repetition and it's bound to have an impact. Start with an image like George McGovern doesn't represent South Dakota. Keep hitting away. That's more effective than George McGovern did or didn't do X, Y or Z for South Dakota."

Dolan said his organization would attack a targeted senator with a barrage of radio commercials running as often as seventy-two times per day and television commercials as frequently as 200 times per week. "By November,"

TOP 15 INDEPENDENT PACs (1980)

1. Congressional Club — $4,633,467.92
2. National Conservative Political Action Committee — $3,287,490.67
3. Fund for a Conservative Majority — $2,008,761.88
   A Washington, D.C.-based lobby and political action committee, this group advocates a conservative social and fiscal legislative agenda. It spent its funds in support of candidates sympathetic to its causes, particularly Ronald Reagan.
4. Americans for an Effective President — $1,272,047.07
   Created by former White House assistant Peter M. Flanigan and former Air Force Secretary Thomas C. Reed, it spent the bulk of its funds in support of candidates sympathetic to its causes, particularly Ronald Reagan.
5. Americans for Change — $707,884.28
   Headed by Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt (R-New Mexico), the group supported Ronald Reagan and other conservative candidates.
6. Cecil R. Haden — $600,528.00
   A Texas industrialist who spent the bulk of his funds in support of John Connally's primary race for President, then for Ronald Reagan.
7. National Rifle Association — $444,799.42
8. Christian Voice Moral Government Fund — $401,887.89
   This group is strongly anti-homosexual rights, antiabortion and pro-prayer in schools. It spent money in support of candidates sympathetic to its position.
9. 1980 Republican Presidential Campaign Committee for Ronald Reagan — $314,690.00
10. American Medical Association — $172,439.91
11. Stewart Rawlings Mott — $144,146.00
    An individual who donates to liberal causes.
12. Gun Owners of America — $120,000.00
    A PAC founded by State Senator Bill Richardson of California to promote the right to keep and bear arms. It opposes candidates and legislation which favor gun control.
13. Americans for Life — $119,115.25
    A national group supporting antiabortion measures.
14. Norman Lear — $108,000.00
15. League of Conservation Voters — $102,842.00
    A group that works to protect the environment.

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Dolan boasted, "there will be people voting against [him] without remembering why." Dolan asserted that these tactics could elect Mickey Mouse to the United States Senate.

"We were in the league with N.C.P.A.C. and other groups in using an attack philosophy," said Mark Longabaugh, research director of the Fund for a Conservative Majority. "Trade associations and other business groups don't do that as often, because they are more concerned with buying access [to candidates]."

The independent committees scorn the latter approach. Rather than winning the ears of a hundred candidates, they prefer to defeat a carefully selected half dozen. In 1980, they concentrated on races "where we felt we could make a difference," as a staffer at the National Rifle Association put it.

Such relentless pressure by the PACs can cause a backlash against their own candidates. Many PACs focus on emotional, polarizing issues—issues that the candidate might prefer to downplay in the interest of coalition-building. Independent expenditures can also disrupt the efforts of the candidate and his staff to retain control over the campaign. If you can't, by law, even be aware of a PAC's activities, there is theoretically no way to monitor them.

"Independent spending is not a reason for glee by the candidate," said Mark Green, an unsuccessful liberal Democratic candidate for Congress from New York City. Green suggested that there would be "an inevitable tension between a campaign staff planning its own strategy and an outside group trying to influence a campaign. Running a campaign is a delicate operation, and you select those few things that maximize your assets and minimize your opponent's. Quite likely an outside group coming in to do things for your campaign that are out of your jurisdiction would be inconsistent with your strategies and, therefore, counterproductive."

In practice, candidates and the independent PACs have found imaginative ways to circumvent the problem. "It was easy for us to communicate through the press," said an official for the Christian Voice Moral Government Fund. "We would tell the press what we were going to do and they would print it. If the candidate didn't like it, he could tell the press and chances are they would print it. Then the PAC would find out and change its strategy."

But how much are all these plans, ads, stratagems and independent dollars really worth to a candidate? The 1980 elections provided few clear answers. One political observer commented: "N.C.P.A.C. is like a rooster who takes credit for the dawn. There were definitely other forces which led to the defeat of liberal Democratic senators."

A postelection analysis published by *Congressional Quarterly* came to a similar conclusion: "Republican officials and many of the candidates who ousted liberal Democrats said the New Right's role was minimal, and in some cases, harmful to their campaigns. They attributed the victory to a list of more familiar factors: fresh, but experienced candidates, generous doses of party financing, a popular Presidential candidate atop the ticket and a throw-the-bums-out mood. On one point, the analysts were much in agreement: Whatever role the New Right played was due in large part to the press's fascination with the phenomenon."

The power of the new independent PACs should not, however, be underestimated. Lance Tarrance, a Houston pollster who was hired by Grassley, discovered a significant N.C.P.A.C. effect very early in the Iowa race that could be attributed to an anti-Culver advertising blitz. Because of the blitz, the incumbent was weakened before a challenger had even been chosen.

"In 1979, it was not altogether clear to people where Culver was ideologically," Tarrance said. "He was seen as slightly liberal. . . . By the summer of 1980, Culver was perceived to be very, very liberal. That was not the result of Grassley's campaign. He was busy getting the nomination."

Public-interest groups have challenged independent spending on the ground that it is a way to skirt the campaign finance laws. Common Cause, which helped push through the 1974 election financing law, has filed suit against Americans for Change, a conservative group headed by Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, a New Mexico Republican. The suit, which failed in the lower courts, is now pending in the Supreme Court. Common Cause argues that unlimited independent spending will destroy the entire system set up in 1974 to regulate campaign financing and set spending limits.

Thus far, the courts have ruled that restraints on independent campaign contributions impair freedom of speech. In 1976, the Supreme Court ruled in *Buckley* v. *Valeo* that supporters of Federal candidates may spend unrestricted amounts in elections as long as they do not coordinate their spending with the official campaign. Dissenting, Justice Byron White expressed the fear that independent spending would result in "transparent and widespread invasion of the contributions limit."

As a result of the unsuccessful attempts to stop independent spending, many progressive groups have decided that if you can't beat them, join them. "Independent spending is effective, deplorable and probably not preventable," according to Mark Green. "The only constitutional antidote to right-wing spending, however, is left-wing spending."

In this spirit, a number of progressive groups have begun raising money to act as a counterweight to the influx of conservative spending. Groups such as McGovern's Americans for Common Sense, former lobbyist Victor Kamber's Pro-PAC, Norman Lear's People for an American Way, Kennedy's Fund for a Democratic Majority and Independent Action have set up research operations and, in some cases, will be forming independent PACs.

"The New Right has demonstrated that there is a market for PAC activity. We will be a small PAC, but hopefully we can work with other liberal PACs to counter some of the New Right gains in the last election," noted Wally Chalmers, the executive director of the Fund for a Democratic Majority. "There are many approaches a PAC can use when disbursing its funds. N.C.P.A.C. and the rest

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showed that there is plenty of room for innovation in spending." Kamber's Pro-PAC hopes to be the left's answer to N.C.P.A.C. It will spend the major part of the money it raises in direct-mail solicitations in carefully chosen races.

What will this influx of money do to already high campaign costs? It appears that if the courts don't step in, there is nowhere to go but up. Only about 110 PACs of the more than 2,000 in existence spent independently in the last election. And only twenty individuals made use of this provision in the campaign financing laws. As independent spending gains wider acceptance in the political community, however, many more will make use of the loophole. □

GREEK ELECTIONS

Time for a Change

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

Athens

Greece is the only Western nation that has not had so much as a holiday from conservative rule since World War II. The country was run as a fiefdom of the military right during the 1930s. It had an unusually bitter experience of Nazi occupation. It had an exceptionally fierce civil war in the late 1940s, which only ended when Joseph Stalin exchanged his backing of the Communists for Western recognition of his own rule in Poland. Since then, reaction has governed Greece either directly (as in the seven years of army dictatorship between 1967 and 1974) or indirectly (through rigged elections and puppet assemblies). In 1964, when a center-left Parliament was voted in against the stream of corruption and violence, it was dissolved by King Constantine. The supporters of democracy took to the streets in despair, chanting at the political police, "Papandreou, Papandreou."

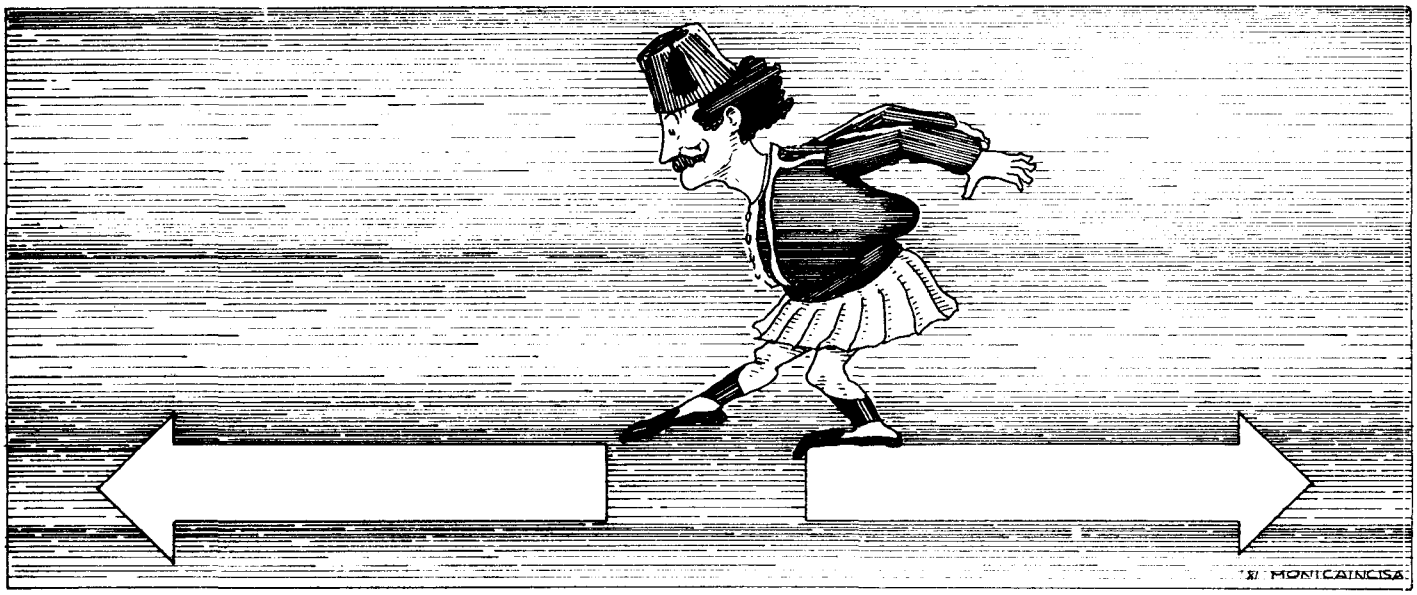
Now George Papandreou, the veteran liberal statesman, has given way to his son Andreas, the patriot and socialist. It may be that in the third week of October, Greece will freely elect a government of the left [see Sari Gilbert, "Greece and NATO: Uncertain Ally," *The Nation*, December 27, 1980]. But it is still possible that the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) will be cheated of the victory it regards as rightful and inevitable. Both main contestants are aware that the election will change more than the name of the prime minister.

Since the collapse of the junta in 1974, and the catastrophe in Cyprus that precipitated it, Greek conservatism has ruled the country in a much more humane and careful fashion than had hitherto seemed feasible. All political parties, including the Communist, are legalized. Soldiers are no longer marched by their officers to the polls and counted while they vote. The press is more or less free. The monarchy has been abolished by referendum. Following diplomatic initiatives, friendly relations have been established with Warsaw Pact and Third World nations. Trade unionism has undergone a minor renaissance. The army has been purged of most if not all of its fascist-minded officers. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has been told that it can no longer regard Greece as a servile province, to be taken for granted when bases and alliances are drawn up.

This has led to what might be called a revolution of expectations. It remains to be seen whether the right-wing parties have rehabilitated themselves, or whether Greek voters now feel that the spell of cold-war conservatism has been broken, so that they can vote for the left without risking war or dictatorship. Andreas Papandreou is acutely aware of the obstacles he faces. As a man who spent most of the dictatorship in exile in the United States, he has a lively idea of what the Western alliance will and will not accept. But, in a recent conversation, he denied that he would water the socialist wine in order to win power.

His party, which arose out of the movement against the dictatorship, is resolutely hostile to NATO and to the

Christopher Hitchens is the foreign editor of the New Statesman *and a frequent contributor to* The Nation.



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presence of American bases. It also wants to expropriate the elements in Greece—bankers, large landholders and shipowners—that backed the junta. Yet it must, in order to be elected, make an appeal to nationalism and patriotism. The key to Greek politics is the *noikokyris*, the modest small landholder and family man who tends to vote with circumspection and opportunism. This type has no trouble with anti-Americanism, which is almost a vogue in Greece. But he doesn't want civil strife, and he does want a strong line against Turkey. PASOK, too, favors a firm opposition to Turkish claims on the Aegean oil beds and Turkish expansionism in Cyprus. The problem is that this means a pact with the army and with the Western alliance, which is the army's only source of modern weaponry. Which means a clever balancing act between Greek voters on the left and the countries of NATO and the Common Market.

As a result, Greek conservatives, led by Prime Minister George Rallis, are pointing gleefully to Papandreou's double standard. They jeer at him for trying to please everybody, for his wooing of the patriotic businessman and the radical trade unionist, the foreign arms dealers and the local antimilitarists. There is, alas, something in what they say. And the charges have opened a potentially fatal split in the Greek left.

The Greek Communist Party, like the French, would rather lose an election to the right than see it won by a radical who owes them nothing. They are campaigning hard to win 17 percent of the first-ballot votes, which would qualify them to participate in the second distribution of seats under the new system of proportional representation. Because of their gruesome memories of the civil war, many center and left voters will have nothing whatever to do with the Communists, and this puts Papandreou in a dilemma. He cannot call for a union of the left and risk being associated with the pro-Moscow leadership. But, in default of that, he can only look for extra votes further to his right. And he cannot afford to alienate his own left wing. The similarity with François Mitterrand's early predicament is a notable one—yet the election of Mitterrand has done PASOK nothing but good.

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Papandreou's strongest card is his foreign policy. He has taken care to be seen in the company of leading European socialists and has as good a relationship with Mitterrand as the Rallis party used to have with Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. He has moderated his anti-Americanism and recently sponsored a meeting in Rhodes at which leading Italian and Portuguese socialists openly voiced their sympathy for NATO (if not their fellow-feeling for Ronald Reagan's anti-Soviet policies). He has, in short, been giving Greek socialism a respectable face. For the moment, his own party dares not object to tactics that may bring electoral victory.

Though they continue to mock Papandreou for his twists and turns, the leaders of Rallis's New Democracy Party have been careful to devise a few of their own as insurance. They have suspended negotiations with the United States on military bases in Crete and elsewhere and have said that no nuclear weapons will be based on Greek soil. They have been as generous as possible in social programs and have promised new initiatives in the countryside to impress rural and peasant voters. More discreetly, they have put out feelers to the hard rightists and monarchists, whose 6 percent voting strength might provide the winning margin. Old junta figures have been allowed to emerge unmolested to address meetings, and a conciliatory line has been taken on the case of the exiled King Constantine. In addition, it is being made harder for Greek workers abroad (of whom there are hundreds of thousands) to vote. And there is great foot-dragging over the lowering of the voting age.

Greece is a country of small producers, with a grossly overcentralized political and industrial system based in Athens. The hardest task of any socialist party is to persuade people that its policies will not lead to more corruption and bureaucracy. State control in the past has often meant party control and the distribution of favors and patronage to new elites. Partly for this reason, Papandreou has begun to stress "socialization" as the slogan of PASOK, and to emphasize higher taxation for the rich rather than state takeovers.

In the elections that followed the collapse of the junta, the conservative candidate, Constantine Caramanlis, who is now President, became Prime Minister on the whispered slogan "Caramanlis or the tanks." Many radicals voted for him in the belief that the army would never allow a socialist to form a government, and that even a "guided democracy" would be better than none at all. That pathetic dilemma is unlikely to recur. Indeed, many of the younger officers admire Papandreou for his firm line against Turkey. Greece, in short, is just about ready to nerve itself for a change. Evidence of this can be taken from the last-minute decision of George Mavros, a distinguished liberal centrist, to align himself with PASOK in his parliamentary campaign. The really serious problems will come if Papandreou succeeds in forming a government without the Communists and has to decide whether he is a nationalist, a socialist, a reformer or a revolutionary. His present hybrid combination of all four could well win an election but, unless resolved early, could open him to every kind of destabilization once in power. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Hiroshima

(*Continued From Front Cover*)
that authority. "The position of the United States as a great humanitarian nation" was also important, Under Secretary of the Navy Ralph Bard wrote to the Secretary of War on June 27, 1945. Urging that the Japanese be warned several days prior to the attack, Bard sought to modify the decision made a month earlier by the Interim Committee:

> After much discussion concerning various types of targets and the effects to be produced [the minutes of the May 31 meeting read], *the Secretary* [of War] *expressed the conclusion, on which there was general agreement, that we could not give the Japanese any warning; that we could not concentrate on a civilian area; but that we should seek to make a profound psychological impression on as many of the inhabitants as possible. At the suggestion of Dr.* [James] *Conant the Secretary agreed that the most desirable target would be a vital war plant employing a large number of workers and closely surrounded by workers' houses.* *

Bard's advice went unheeded, however, and the initial irony of Hiroshima was that the very act symbolizing our wartime victory was quickly turned against our peacetime purposes. At the 1946-48 Tokyo War Crimes Trials, which, like the Nuremberg trials, were a symbolic expression of our moral authority, Justice Rabhabinod Pal of India cited Hiroshima and Nagasaki as evidence against our claim to rule in Asia by right of superior virtue. The atomic bombings, he wrote in a dissenting opinion, were "the only near approach [in the Pacific War] to the directive . . . of the Nazi leaders during the Second World War."

Addressing the issues of just cause and morality that Pal raised, the earliest explanations for the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki aimed at convincing "a candid world" that our actions had been morally justified. "We have used [the atomic bomb]," President Truman stated publicly, "in order to shorten the agony of war, in order to save the lives of thousands and thousands of young Americans." His private explanation, written on August 11, 1945, in response to criticism of the atomic bombings from none other than John Foster Dulles, was more revealing: "Nobody is more disturbed over the use of Atomic bombs than I am but I was greatly disturbed over the unwarranted attack by the Japanese on Pearl Harbor and their murder of our prisoners of war. The only language they seem to understand is the one we have been using to bombard them.

"When you have to deal with a beast you have to treat him as a beast. It is most regrettable but nevertheless true."

Hiroshima and Nagasaki was researched by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and translated by Eisei Ishikawa and David L. Swain. It was published simultaneously in the United States, Britain and Japan on August 6, the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. The book is an encyclopedic summary of the devastation experienced by the "beasts" who inhabited those cities. Its findings are presented in four parts. Part One describes "The Physical Aspects of Destruction," such as damage to buildings, and its chapters assess the blast effects and the physical behavior and properties of the radiation released. Part Two, "Injury to the Human Body," is the most gruesome but also the most important section, for the studies summarized there deal with the impact of radiation on human beings over time. The third section, "The Impact on Society and Daily Life," carries the study into the areas of psychology, sociology and even politics. And Part Four, "Toward the Abolition of Nuclear Arms," contains chapters on medical care afforded the victims, on government policies toward them, on efforts of researchers to document the damage and on the cities' peace education programs.

In the appendix there is a useful chronology of events, "Atomic Bomb Damages, 1945-1978"; a list of the thirty-four Japanese scientists, medical personnel and social scientists responsible for the study; and, I assume, the most complete bibliography available in English of the medical and scientific literature in English and Japanese related to the atomic bombings. All told, it is a most important reference work, which is also to say that it is a book whose message will be discussed by many, but whose pages will be read by few.

The concerns behind the publication of *Hiroshima and Nagasaki* are self-consciously historical in the sense that the authors want to insure that the *experience* of having suffered the first two atomic holocausts shall not have been in vain. "The A-bomb catastrophe has become more remote with each passing year," the mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki write in the foreword.

> Thus, it is clear that we must make a renewed effort to keep alive the A-bomb experience. . . . Hiroshima and Nagasaki have joined in the publication of this comprehensive compilation of the findings that are so far scientifically confirmed; and we have done so out of the conviction that, in the present state of international policy in regard to nuclear arms, there is not a moment to lose.

But it may be that "the moment" is lost, and was lost, even before August 6, 1945, when Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill rejected steps that might have led to the international control of atomic energy. And it may be that at some level we recognize that such a moment, if indeed it ever existed, is now beyond our grasp.

The American public's sense of powerlessness before a monster its own government created and used may be the single most important reason behind the easy acceptance of the idea—so vigorously promoted by the Reagan Administration—that only nuclear superiority can guarantee our national security. Even here, the debate over the

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* The leaflets dropped on Hiroshima and numerous other cities prior to August 6 did not provide the residents of those cities with a relevant warning, as Fussell erroneously claims. They only informed them of the terms of the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, which called for Japan to surrender unconditionally or face "the utter devastation of the Japanese homeland."

Martin J. Sherwin, professor of history at Tufts University, is the author of A World Destroyed: The Atomic Bomb and The Grand Alliance *(Knopf/Vintage). He is currently a visiting scholar at the Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History at Harvard University and at the Program in Science and Technology for International Security at M.I.T. He is writing a biography of J. Robert Oppenheimer.*

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atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is relevant, for it is of paramount importance to those who wish to rely increasingly upon nuclear weapons that these weapons not be tarnished with a sense of guilt that could inhibit their use as an instrument of diplomacy.

However, the least obvious impact of Hiroshima and Nagasaki may be the most important: the subtle conversion of tens of millions of people over the course of thirty-six years of nuclear arms racing to the idea that nuclear war is inevitable. The button exists and someday someone will push it; nothing can prevent that. Technology has altered our confidence in free will. Kurt Vonnegut suggests this intellectual metamorphosis in *Slaughterhouse Five*, a book which attempts to come to grips with his Hiroshima-like experience as a prisoner of war in Dresden when that city was pulverized by a massive British-American bombing raid that killed 35,000 people on February 13-15, 1945.

" 'How does the universe end?' " Billy Pilgrim asks his omniscient Trafalmadorian captors, who have shuttled him to their planet through a time warp.

> "We blow it up, experimenting with new fuels for our flying saucers. A Trafalmadorian test pilot presses a starter button, and the whole Universe disappears."
>
> "If you know this," said Billy, "isn't there some way you can prevent it? Can't you keep the pilot from pressing the button?"
>
> "He has *always* pressed it, and he always *will*. We *always* let him and we always *will* let him. The moment is *structured* that way." So it goes.

And so it went at Hiroshima, and quite properly so, according to Fussell, who argues that the President made his decision in Washington for the same reasons he (Fussell) celebrated that decision in Europe. A professor of English at Rutgers University and author of *The Great War and Modern Memory*, Fussell, like Vonnegut, was profoundly affected by the conflict. Their experiences were somewhat different, however. Vonnegut was a captured enlisted man who lived through a veritable holocaust initiated by the Allies; Fussell was a second lieutenant who had been wounded by one enemy, but not seriously enough to be denied orders to the Pacific to participate in an invasion planned for March 1946 into the homeland of another.

"Experience whispers that the pity is not that we used the bomb to end the Japanese war," he says from his precarious vantage point, "but that it wasn't ready earlier to end the German one." To be dropped on Dresden, perhaps. As Vonnegut notes, "World War Two certainly made everybody very tough."

Well, not exactly everybody, in Fussell's view. "In life," he argues, "experience is the great teacher." And it was only combat experience that taught soldiers what Hiroshima and Nagasaki were all about. If you were holding a rifle and a set of orders designating you an American kamikaze, you thanked God—as William Manchester did in *Goodbye Darkness: A Memoir of the Pacific War*—for the atomic bomb. Fair enough. It is well to be reminded that in any war, soldiers in trenches may justifiably view events very differently from those who fly desks.

Former soldier Tim O'Brien makes this point clearly in his perceptive novel about the war in Vietnam, *Going after Cacciato*. But O'Brien is also clear about how limiting the soldier's view can be: " 'The common grunt doesn't give a damn about purposes and justice,' " he has Doc Peret say.

> "He doesn't even think about that shit. Not when he's out humping, getting his tail shot off. Purposes—bullshit! He's thinking about how to keep breathing. Or . . . or what it'll feel like when he hits that mine. Will he go nuts? Will he throw up all over himself, or will he cry, or pass out, or scream? What'll it look like—all bone and meat and pus? That's the stuff he thinks about, not purposes."

According to Fussell, too many commentators on Hiroshima derive their sense of purpose from the war roles assigned to their social class: "The problem is one that touches on the matter of social class in America. Most of those with firsthand experience of the war at its worst were relatively inarticulate and have remained silent." In other words, those who did not *fight* do not have an appreciation for the events that concluded the war: "The degree to which Americans register shock and extraordinary shame about the Hiroshima bomb correlates closely with lack of information about the war," he argues. What follows this comment is a veritable explosion of resentment in which logic is abandoned and research is derided as the war records of selected American critics of the bombings are hauled out for derision.

"What did [John Kenneth Galbraith] do in the war?" Fussell asks. "He was in the Office of Price Administration in Washington, and then he was director of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey [which concluded that Japan would have surrendered without the atomic bombings and without being invaded]. He was 37 in 1945, and I don't demand that he experience having his ass shot off. I just note that he didn't."

The war record of David Joravsky, a distinguished historian of science at Northwestern University, is the next to be judged inadequate. "In an interesting exchange last year in *The New York Review of Books* [October 23, 1980]," Fussell writes, "Joseph Alsop and David Joravsky set forth the by now familiar arguments on both sides of the debate. You'll be able to guess which sides they chose once you know that Alsop experienced capture by the Japanese at Hong Kong in 1942 and that Joravsky made no mortal contact with the Japanese: a young soldier, he was on his way to the Pacific when the war ended."

And finally, there is the late professor of philosophy J. Glenn Gray, whose book *The Warriors* describes soldiers as "shocked and ashamed" when they heard about the atomic bombings, a reaction that Fussell explains by revealing that Gray spent the war at division headquarters, which "is miles behind the places where the soldiers experience terror and madness and relieve these pressures by sadism."

That sentence and an additional paragraph or two discussing the Pacific War massacres from which, as Fussell says, "Hiroshima seems to follow in natural sequence," sound uncomfortably reminiscent of Vietnam War descriptions, and, indeed, it is the juxtaposition of the *bad war* with the *good war* that is bringing old soldiers like Fussell and Alsop out of the closet to defend Hiroshima. For in its current phase, the debate over Hiroshima and Nagasaki has little to do with how others see us; it has become strictly a matter of how we see ourselves.

A generation of warriors who considered their experience so virtuous that they can speak of massacres apparently without thinking of My Lai (Fussell says, "No Marine was fully persuaded of his manly adequacy who didn't have a well-washed Japanese skull to caress and who didn't have a go at treating sur-

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rendering Japs as rifle targets"), and who can speak of the savagery that existed on both sides as an adequate explanation for Hiroshima, do not want their history Vietnamized. If the war was just, then anything that contributed to victory was justified; and the atomic bombings, which appeared to bring the war to a conclusion, were, from a soldier's point of view, a gift from God.

But it was Truman, without Divine guidance to the best of our knowledge, who decided how that gift should be used. Aware of that, Fussell offers this extraordinary comment near the close of his essay: "Harry Truman was not a fascist, but a democrat. He was as close to a real egalitarian as we've seen in high office for a very long time. He is the only president in my lifetime who ever had the experience of commanding a small unit of ground troops obliged to kill people. He knew better than his subsequent critics [of Hiroshima and Nagasaki] what he was doing."

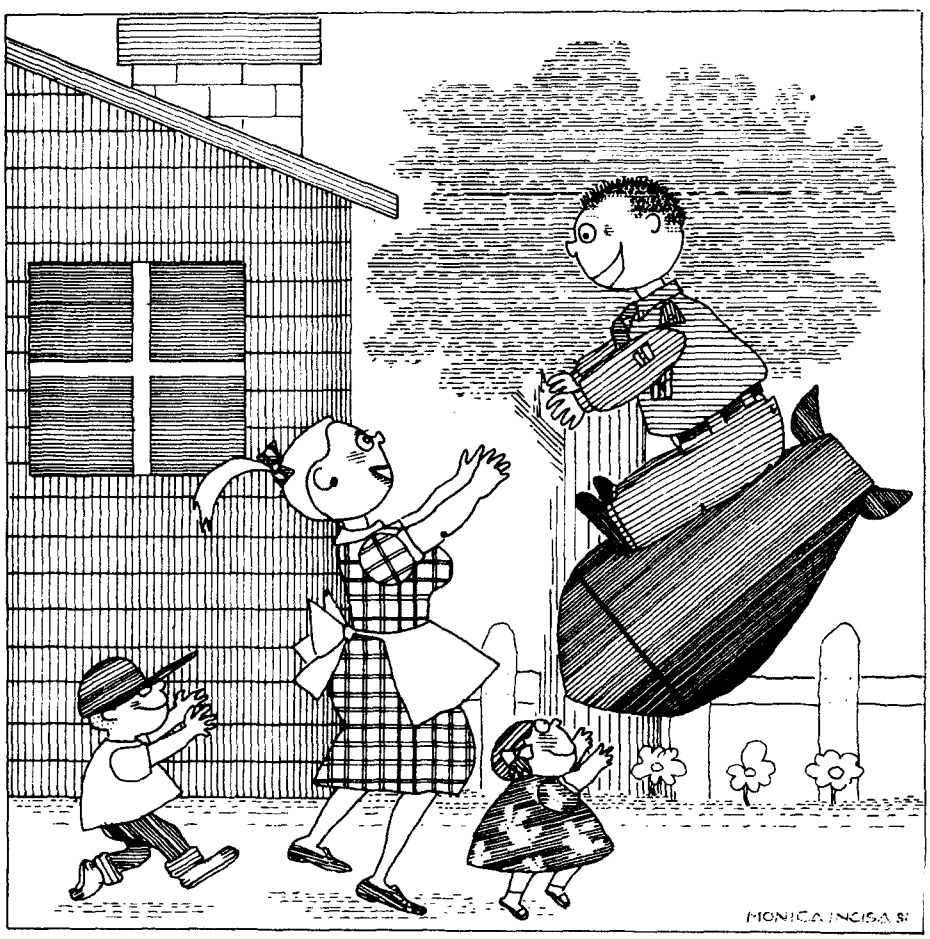
Putting aside the suggestion that the experience of killing people in war is excellent preparation for Presidential decision making in the nuclear age, let us move from combat experiences to historical research and inquire what *Truman was experiencing* and what he was thinking about as he sat behind his desk in the Oval Office in the spring and early summer of 1945.

Research in the President's Official File, and in the diaries, correspondence and records of his closest wartime advisers, reveals that while the war was an ever-present consideration, its conduct was not among Truman's primary tasks. The record of military successes, Roosevelt's deteriorating health, a growing concern with postwar problems and Truman's inexperience had shifted much of the daily management of the conflict away from the White House during 1945. The new President would officiate over victory, but he would not be credited with having led the nation to it. The problems of the postwar world loomed larger before Truman than they ever had before Roosevelt, and they occupied more of his time. *His* performance would be judged on what he accomplished *after* the war.

The Soviet Union was the primary postwar problem. Joseph Stalin was breaking the Yalta Agreement, the Secretary of State reported to the President at their first meeting on April 13, and soon after, Averell Harriman, Ambassador to Moscow, characterized Soviet behavior as nothing less than a "barbarian invasion of Europe."

Operating on the principle that toughness was next to godlessness in Stalin's eyes, Truman launched several initiatives during his early weeks in office. His first—subjecting Foreign Minister V.M. Molotov to a tongue-lashing—had disastrous results. His second—the precipitous termination of lend-lease aid to the Russians the day after Germany surrendered—produced an even worse reaction. Casting about for a more effective diplomatic strategy, Truman turned to the counsel of his Secretary of War, Stimson, whose experience as the overseer of the atomic bomb project inspired the policy of caution and reasonable accommodation he recommended. It seemed to Stimson "a terrible thing to gamble with such big stakes in diplomacy without having your master card [atomic bomb] in your hand." He viewed the bomb as the key to the postwar world. It would be "the most terrible weapon ever known in human history," he told Truman, noting that "if the problem of the proper use of this weapon can be solved, we would have the opportunity to bring the world into a pattern in which the peace of the world and our civilization can be saved."

By the late spring of 1945, the implications of this weapon which had been created to win the war had become more problematic than the war itself. As the bomb moved toward completion, a dangerous (though now familiar) illusion was nurtured in the White House: the idea that the bomb was a panacea for America's diplomatic as well as its military problems. As preparations for the Potsdam Conference got underway, assurances that the weapon would work became increasingly important to the President. On June 6, he told Stimson that he had even "postponed" the summit conference "until the 15th of July on purpose to give us more time." And then, Stimson and Truman agreed, in an early linkage of arms control and diplomacy, that after the first bomb had been successfully used against Japan, a fitting exchange for an American offer to the Russians for the international control of atomic energy would be "the settlement of the Polish, Rumanian, Yugoslavian, and Manchurian problems." And even before this discussion, Secretary of



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State-designate James F. Byrnes had told Truman that the bomb "might well put us in a position to dictate our own terms at the end of the war."

Truman inherited the basic policy that governed the atomic bomb, just as he inherited every other policy related to the war, a point that commentators on both sides of the debate often ignore. It was therefore *possible* to use the bomb only because Roosevelt had made preparations to do so. Truman was *inclined* to use the bomb because of those preparations. But he *decided* to use it because there seemed no good reason not to. On the contrary, the bombs were available and the Japanese fought on; the bombs were available and precedents of burned cities were numerous; the bombs were available and $2 billion had been spent to create them; the bombs were available and revenge had its claim; the bombs were available and the Soviet Union was claiming too much. "The bomb," to quote Stimson, was "a badly needed equalizer." Its use held out not only the hope of shocking Tokyo into submission but also the possible dividend of jolting Moscow into cooperation. "No man, in our position and subject to our responsibilities, holding in his hands a weapon of such possibilities," Stimson wrote in "The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb," "could have failed to use it and afterwards looked his countrymen in the face."

But a critical question remains: Were the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as Fussell and Alsop claim, the quickest way to end the war? A considerable body of evidence suggests that the decision to use the bomb, which involved a decision to reject another recommended initiative, *delayed* the end of the war.

American cryptographers had broken the Japanese diplomatic code before the war, and senior members of the Administration were aware of a struggle between peace and war factions within the Japanese government. Based on this privileged information, and on his knowledge of Japanese politics gained from long experience as Ambassador to Japan, Acting Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew urged Truman during the final days of May to modify the unconditional-surrender policy. It was an insurmountable barrier for the peace faction, he explained, for no Japanese government would surrender without assurances that the Emperor would not be deposed or the dynasty eliminated. But Truman decided to reject Grew's advice, and an important question is *why*?

One answer is that he would not accept the political consequences that were likely to result from a public retreat from a policy that had become a political shibboleth since Roosevelt introduced the idea in 1943.

Another answer is that he preferred to use the atomic bomb. This is the view offered by the authors of *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*: "The A-bomb attacks were needed not so much against Japan—already on the brink of surrender and no longer capable of mounting an effective counteroffensive—as to establish clearly America's postwar international position and strategic supremacy in the anticipated cold war setting." Although this interpretation is difficult to "prove," any serious effort to interpret Truman's motives must confront the significant evidence in Stimson's diaries, in the Manhattan Project files and in the President's papers that supports it. "The bomb as a merely probable weapon had seemed a weak reed on which to rely," Stimson wrote in his memoir, *On Active Service in Peace and War*, "but the bomb as a colossal reality was very different." This expected difference, it must be recognized, may have made *the* difference when Truman chose between unconditional surrender and the atomic bomb.

But whatever the reasons that led to the President's decision, the point that is relevant here is that many more American soldiers and Japanese of all types might have had the opportunity to grow old if Truman had accepted Grew's advice, the perspicacity of which became even clearer on July 13 when an intercepted message from Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo to Ambassador Naotake Sato in Moscow noted that "unconditional surrender is the only obstacle to peace."

And unconditional surrender remained an obstacle to peace *even after* atomic bombs destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Japanese did not surrender until the government of the United States offered assurances that neither the Emperor nor the imperial dynasty would be endangered. In his *New York Review of Books* article, published under the title "Was the Hiroshima Bomb Necessary?", Alsop camouflages this point by referring to "President Truman's wise decision to agree to preserve the imperial house as part of a surrender otherwise unconditional." But the details that Alsop recounts of the military's resistance to surrender are relevant *only* against the background of the demand for unconditional surrender. That policy, initiated in America, bound together a fracturing war party in Japan. To focus solely on the position taken by the military hard-liners, as Alsop does, misses the point. As Eugene Dooman, a senior Japan specialist in the State Department during the war, long ago pointed out to Herbert Feis (author of *Japan Subdued* and *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II*), "the Army, and I mean the diehards like [Generals] Umetzu and Anami, never did countenance surrender, but a fission had already developed among the generals, as witness the intervention of General Tanaka, commanding the Eastern Army, against the troops sent to seize the emperor."

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In the early morning hours of August 10, in the Emperor's bomb shelter adjoining the imperial library, Premier Kantaro Suzuki startled his divided colleagues on the Supreme Council with the announcement, "Your Imperial Majesty's decision is requested." That decision, "to accept the Allied proclamation on the basis outlined by the Foreign Minister," brought the war to its conclusion—*on the condition* that the United States not compromise the prerogatives of the Emperor as supreme ruler or the survival of the dynasty.

When he came to consider those final, dramatic months of the war and the momentous decisions he influenced so heavily, Stimson (whose introspection and honesty seem out of place next to the modern political memoir) wrote "that history might find that the United States, by its delay in stating its position [on the conditions of surrender], had prolonged the war." □

THEATER.

JOHN LAHR

American Buffalo

"You know what is free enterprise," says Teach in David Mamet's brilliant *American Buffalo* as he readies himself for his night's work of breaking and entering. "The freedom . . . of the Individual . . . to Embark on any Fucking Course that he sees fit . . . In order to secure his honest chance to make a profit. . . . The country's *founded* on this, Don. You know this." Crime, Mamet shrewdly shows, is only the American ethic of pluck 'n' luck turned upside down. Teach and his cohorts are out to steal the coin collection of a man who recently paid $90 for a nickel from Don's Resale Shop. They are losers who talk the language of business success. Driven, ignorant and terrified, they are motivated not so much by a dream of winning as a fear of losing. Their impoverishment is reinforced by the vicious ethic whose axioms they spout. "Without this," says Teach, speaking of the American's "inalienable" right to do his own thing, "we're just savage shitheads in the wilderness." And they are.

In a society that promotes the myth of equal opportunity, mobility is crucial. The American must always feel himself in motion, pursuing his destiny and his fortune. The result is a restless, rootless, insecure society which has no faith in the peace it seeks or the pleasure it finds. *American Buffalo* superbly evokes this anxious and impoverished world. The characters are stalled, yet they talk only of movement. In the play's first minute, Don is giving his gopher, Bob, a business lesson. "Action counts," he says. "Action talks and bullshit walks." And in the same breath, speaking of another street hustler, a low-life called Fletcher, who never appears, Don waxes lyrical: "You take him and you put him down in some strange town with just a nickel in his pocket and by nightfall he'll have the town by the balls. This is not talk, Bob, this is action." Don sees himself as an entrepreneur ("That's all business is . . . common sense, experience and talent," he says, preaching virtues that are hilariously absent from his character). Don collects junk; and in the swagger of his clumsy syntax, he conveys Mamet's clear perception of him as another scrap of the detritus of capitalism. His world and his language are composed of waste. The arid, tatty deprivation that comes through in this world of small-fry hustlers is created out of the ethic of self-aggrandizement, which punishes them even as it seduces them. "That's what business *is*," Don tells his pupil. "People taking care of themselves."

When Teach makes his entrance, he enters in a fury. He has been put down at the local diner for mooching a piece of toast from a girl's plate. In this mean and brutal world, friendship augurs betrayal, and generosity is parceled out in chump change. "She goes 'Help Yourself,'" Teach says. "I should help myself to a half of piece of toast its four slices for a quarter. I should have a nickel every time we're over at the game I pop for coffee . . . cigarettes . . . a *sweet roll*, never saw word." The pitch and roll of Teach's speech is terrific writing. Mamet's use of the sludge in American language is completely original. He hears panic and poetry in the convoluted syntax of his beleaguered characters trying at once to fathom and to hide from the realities of the sad life around them. Their speech, like their lives, is a jumble of conflicting connections. Teach continues: "Only (and I tell you this, Don) Only, and I'm not casting anything on anyone: from the

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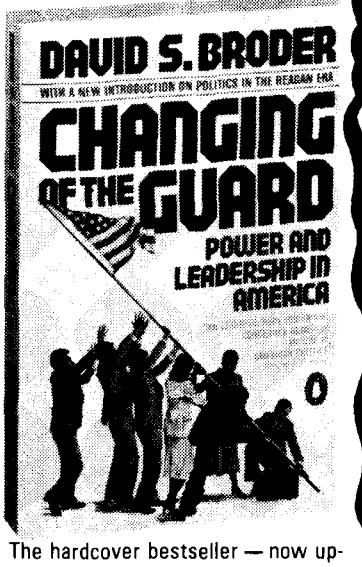
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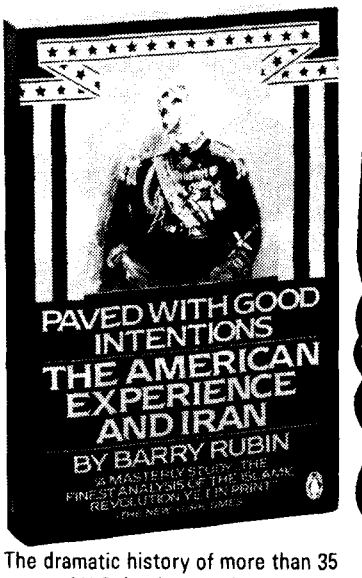
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mouth of a Southern bulldyke asshole ingrate of a vicious nowhere cunt can this trash come."

Teach kisses himself in on the deal and spends most of Act 1 negotiating the "contract." ("You want to bargain. You want to mess with the points.") The tone is expert, but the reality is a shambles. The characters talk endlessly about big bucks (DON: "This is real classical money we're talking about"), but they know the value of nothing. Mamet relishes the contradiction. They get out a coin book to prep for their big heist.

TEACH: This is what I'm *saying* to you. One thing. Makes all the difference in the world.
DON: What?
TEACH: Knowing what the fuck you're talking about. And it's so rare, Don. *So* rare.

As Teach, Al Pacino fills out a great part with gorgeous energy. Pacino's stage mannerisms haven't much changed since his first success in *The Indian Wants the Bronx* (1968). His range is small; but within it, he is eloquent and magnetic. He brings a sense of brooding restlessness with him onto the stage. He roams the set with a predatory gait, when challenged raising his hands, palms up, as if both to disarm and defend himself. All Teach's terror and fury are vividly conveyed in Pacino's elegant performance.

In Act 2, the game plan is botched. Skill, talent and balls—Don's three ingredients for business success—again elude them. Fletcher fails to show. To Don's displeasure, Teach is packing a gun. ("All the preparation in the world does not mean *shit*, the path of some crazed lunatic sees you as an invasion of his personal domain. Guys go nuts, Don, you know this.") Finally, Bob admits he lost the guy with the coins and lied about his whereabouts. Once again, these wheeler-dealers are nowhere. In their talk, they try to dummy up a sense of their heroism; in their life, they cannot even eke out a small victory in a society that only wants winners. Teach trashes the shop, furious at the sense of failure that is the permanent fixture of his existence: "There Is No Law. There Is No Right and Wrong. The World Is Lies. There Is No Friendship. . . ." Teach's isolation, the absence of any real community or mission, is the by-product of a world created by the free enterprise he wants so much to emulate. The world and the people in it are wasted for profit. "I go out there. I'm out there every day," Teach says to Bob, trying to explain his vague, furious bewilderment at the mean streets. "There is nothing out there."

Performing in the Circle in the Square theater is like acting in a corridor. Still, Arvin Brown's expert revival shows off the great literary accomplishment of Mamet's play. In these bumbling and inarticulate meatheads Mamet has found a metaphor for the spiritual failure of entrepreneurial capitalism. Mamet completely inhabits the world of his characters, and every line illuminates both their vanity and their terror. The shape of the dialogue and the surprising arc of each character's development have the thrill of something being confidently discovered and perfectly realized. America has few comedies in its repertory as ironic or as audacious as *American Buffalo*. Although this is the play's first revival, it will not be the last. □

FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

The French Lieutenant's Woman
Chariots of Fire

An appraisal of *The French Lieutenant's Woman* should, I think, begin with the book. John Fowles, an ingenious and widely informed man with a gift for mimicry, set himself the task of writing a credible Victorian novel explicitly from the viewpoint of the 1960s. Its narrative is virtually a distillation of the great nineteenth-century fictions, particularly those of Trollope and Thackeray, but also of Dickens. It is keenly aware of money and social position, and of the opposing tugs of moral duty and emotional inclination. The hero, Charles Algernon Henry Smithson, a young man of high principles, handsome appearance, excellent prospects and no vocation to lend him ballast, allows himself to become inextricably compromised by the conflict in his heart between an obligation to the suitable young lady he has agreed to marry and a passion for an enigmatic woman of sullied reputation—that siren who repeatedly obsesses the splendid young heroes of Victorian fiction. Among the characters supporting this central drama are a monstrous dowager who cloaks despotism in piety, a well-meaning but subservient vicar, a wise, compassionate doctor whose bible is Darwin's *The Origin of Species*, a hunting and drinking champion of the county aristocracy, a stern businessman (father of the wronged young lady), eloquent lawyers, dissolute clubmen, a rascally manservant—in short, familiar company for anyone who has visited in the town houses, county seats and tidy cottages of Victorian fiction.

And, enthusiastically adopting the habit of those earlier novelists of speaking from time to time in their own voices, Fowles chats persistently with his readers on an impressive variety of subjects—social, political and ethical—that are suggested to him by the development of his tale. On two occasions he even goes so far as to introduce himself directly into the action, disguised in whiskers and emitting a faint, not unattractive scent of brimstone—a pleasantry that seems to hark back a century earlier to Laurence Sterne. The ruminations are, of course, those of a lively, acquisitive twentieth-century mind, fortified by the instructions of Freud and Marx and chastened by the uncertainty principle that seems to color every corridor of contemporary thought and that would have appalled the proficient Victorians.

The French Lieutenant's Woman, thus, is an engaging, impish work, in which the proceedings of the text are tested and challenged by their inventor. At the same time, the book does more to stimulate one's appetite than to satisfy it. At least, I found it so. Fowles has devised a model Victorian plot, but plot was not what principally engaged the Victorians; they invested their genius in character. Fowles knows this and has taken pains to get his characters right. They are entirely typical of their literary milieu, except that the Victorians, save occasionally when hard-pressed by the deadlines of serial publication, did not traffic in types. Their greatness lay in displaying the individuality of men and women who, with few exceptions, remained within the bounds of a sternly conventional society.

Like his predecessors, Fowles at times confesses an inability to control his characters or to foresee what they will do, but in his case the confession only calls attention to the puppet strings. I think that as he wrote he may have realized he was setting his boots in rather large footsteps. The book gets out of breath in the later chapters, running faster and ending fairly exhausted in a

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conjurer's trick of alternate conclusions—one ambiguously happy, the other as equivocally sad—that are played out in the Chelsea Embankment house of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. For all his advantages of hindsight, and not to undervalue his gifts of wit and imagination, Fowles has invited himself into company where he cannot shine, but must be content to sparkle.

The demanding job of translating this long and quirky novel into a film script of the usual two hours was given to Harold Pinter. He began (I am guessing at the process) by throwing out a great deal of inessential or technically awkward material: extended trips taken by Charles to the Continent and America; a night in Haymarket Square among the Victorian whores; visits to the estate of the sporting uncle and the loss of an inheritance when the old man remarries; a subplot involving the fortunes of the manservant; the double ending among the Rossettis, etc. At the same time, Pinter introduced a new scene, that of Charles and a friend engaged in the esoteric game of court tennis, for no reason that I could see except to indulge the public's weakness for picturesque antique data of a somewhat snobbish character.

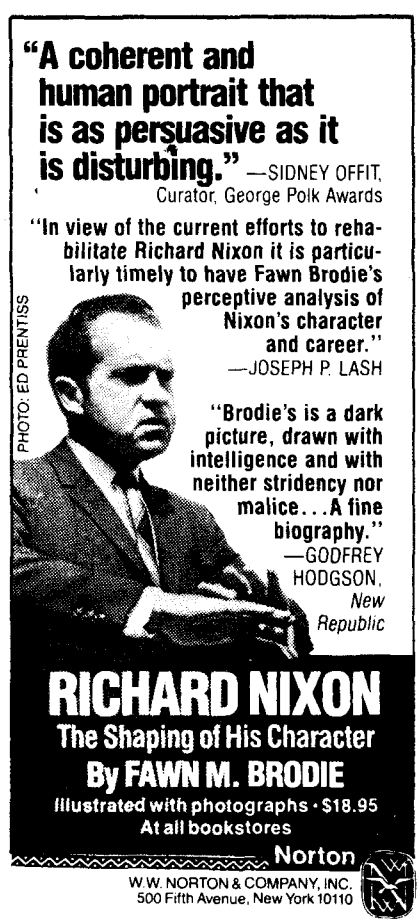
Pinter must then have turned to the matter of Fowles as the persistent commentator on, and occasional participant in, his own chronicle. The author is by far the strongest character in the book, but he could scarcely be allowed to dominate the film—a voice off-camera forever interrupting the visual flow of the work. So Pinter banished him and substituted a somewhat similar bifocal device from the theater: the play within the play. As the picture opens, a camera crew and actors are seen on a gray, stormy shore, setting up the first scene of *The French Lieutenant's Woman*. "Action" is called, the clapboard snaps before the camera and Charles Smithson, with his fiancée, Ernestina Freeman (Lynsey Baxter), on his arm, is seen approaching the long, curving quay of Lyme Regis. At the end of it, buffeted by wind and waves, stands Sarah Woodruff, gazing out to sea, yearning, it is said, for her faithless Frenchman. Charles approaches to warn her of the danger, they exchange a long glance and the plot begins to move.

Very soon thereafter it is established that Charles and Sarah are played by an actor and actress respectively named Mike and Anna, who are not only costars but also lovers. And it turns out that they have commitments elsewhere—he to a wife and children, she to a certain Philip, who speaks with a French accent. Thus the picture develops along parallel tracks set a century apart, cutting back and forth with no warning, past and present often blending without a break one into the other. This is a little cute, but entertaining—a sort of popular adaptation of Brecht's assault on illusion—and Meryl Streep and Jeremy Irons, under Karel Reisz's pungent direction, derive some wit from their stereoscopic roles. Of course the device cannot explore the many areas that attracted Fowles, but it does concentrate effectively on the issue of how couples then and now might be expected to handle the dilemma of divided love and loyalty. The modern pair handle it better, perhaps because they are less transfixed by guilt. Also because, as Streep and Irons play their double parts, they are more immediately vivid (they actually seem taller) when impersonating Sarah and Charles; but as Anna and Mike they are warmer, more approachable and quite free of the spastic gestures of conventional melodrama. No doubt unintentionally, Pinter's own characters call attention to the rather wooden quality of Fowles's lovers.

The film, like the book, is more a trick than a tragedy, but because it presumes less, it more nearly succeeds. It is also very handsome and sumptuously performed.

In the last few years, film makers, for the most part British, have had considerable success with highly lacquered movies that seize on some episode or legend from our fathers' or grandfathers' day to exploit the public's fascination with elegant costumes, antique forms of transportation, handsome interiors, gentle manners, class distinctions and the convenience of well-trained servants. *The Great Train Robbery* was a good example of the species. In these works, period accuracy is somewhat ostentatiously observed, large sums being spent on extensive recreations of the opulent past. We luxuriate in this atmosphere, and rue our rougher lot. There is more than a little of this dreamy opiate in *The French Lieutenant's Woman*. I mentioned the court tennis bit, but the whole film puts a polish on the Victorian past—and for that matter on the film actor's present.

These fashion parades are a sort of con game, seducing us by our nostalgia for top hats, crinolines and champagne flowing like lager, but I don't object if the story moves along with the hansom cabs. In the present case, that of *Chariots of Fire*, it failed to transport me, perhaps because the facts on which it is based cannot be shaped into an effective drama. The screenplay, by Colin Welland, recalls events leading up to and including Britain's triumphant participation in the 1924 Paris Olympics. The particular stars of that meet were Harold Abrahams (Ben Cross), a Jewish undergraduate at Caius College, Cambridge, and Eric Liddell (Ian Charleson), a Scottish son of missionaries and himself a soldier of the Lord. Both young men are exceedingly fleet of foot, both have wills of iron and both repeatedly assert that they speed around tracks for rewards that surpass the pleasure of amassing cups and medals. Abrahams is bent on proving himself as true an Englishman as any Anglo-Saxon in the land. His passion, second only to track, is for Gilbert and Sullivan, and he has been so fortunate as to win the affections of a little maid from school who is possessed of a good voice, a pretty face and a title. Liddell is persuaded that by running rapidly he gratifies God, who takes particular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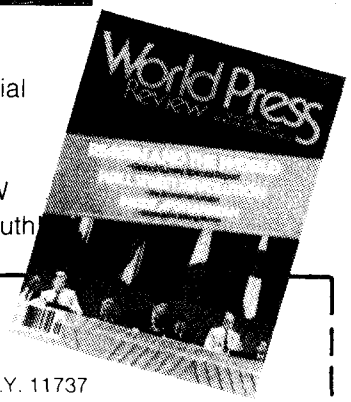

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pleasure in seeing him break the tape. I was surprised that a devout Scottish Presbyterian should hold so vainglorious a notion, since, if the Almighty is indeed a sports fan, he would presumably delight in a victory by any of His flock.

The two men race against each other only once, Liddell winning by a stride. Abrahams, roused from despair by his sweetheart, vows to assert his supremacy in a return match. He hires a private coach to help him gain the essential split second, a move that causes senior members of the university (Sir John Gielgud and Lindsay Anderson) to call him in for a chat on the true meaning of the word "amateur," and to exchange with each other genteel anti-Semitic comments after he indignantly rejects the suggestion that there is something ungentlemanly in his quest for excellence. (Other runners in the film are to be seen flourishing cigars and cigarettes, presumably in deference to the amateur spirit.) Abrahams is exceedingly touchy on the question of his Jewishness, and there are a few other religious slurs in the film to suggest that he is justified, though his friends, of whom he has many in the college, seem totally uninterested in his origins.

The scene with the university worthies is one of the few dramatic encounters in the film (I except the races, which are merely exciting). Another occurs when Liddell discovers that his Olympic event is to be run on the Sabbath and flatly refuses to participate. The Scot's scruples are so damaging to Britain's hopes that the Prince of Wales is called in to reason with him, but the crisis is overcome only when another runner offers to swap events. The obvious climax of the story—a second test between Abrahams and Liddell—does not occur because it didn't occur, the rivals having taken quite separate roads to Olympic glory. I grew weary of Abrahams's hot-eyed obsession with victory and of Liddell's smug righteousness. England's playing fields may have been the cradles of heroes, but somehow these men seem too self-concerned to get very far in that line of work. I diverted myself by admiring the toy-like locomotives, the velvet Cambridge lawns, the snatches of Gilbert and Sullivan, the Scottish moors and the spectacle of rosy-faced youths flinging their boaters into the air. Hugh Hudson directed his large and handsome cast with a sustained vivacity that went in no particular direction. □

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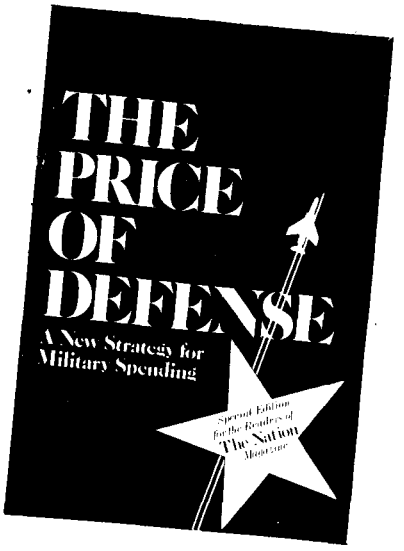

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SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1884

R	E	D	H	E	R	R	I	N	G	■	I	S	I	S
E	■	I	■	A	■	A	■	E	■	D	■	E	■	E
C	A	P	S	T	A	N	■	B	R	I	S	T	O	L
O	■	P	■	S	■	G	■	U	■	S	■	F	■	F
M	E	E	T	■	C	E	L	L	O	P	H	A	N	E
M	■	R	■	S	■	R	■	A	■	U	■	I	■	X
E	S	S	E	N	E	S	■	R	A	T	T	R	A	P
N	■	■	■	I	■	■	■	■	I	■	■	■	■	L
D	O	W	A	G	E	R	■	P	A	N	D	O	R	A
A	■	I	■	G	■	A	■	R	■	G	■	R	■	N
T	A	N	G	E	R	I	N	E	S	■	I	D	E	A
I	■	E	■	R	■	D	■	D	■	E	■	I	■	T
O	B	S	C	E	N	E	■	A	N	T	O	N	I	O
N	■	A	■	D	■	R	■	T	■	U	■	A	■	R
S	E	P	T	■	E	S	P	E	C	I	A	L	L	Y

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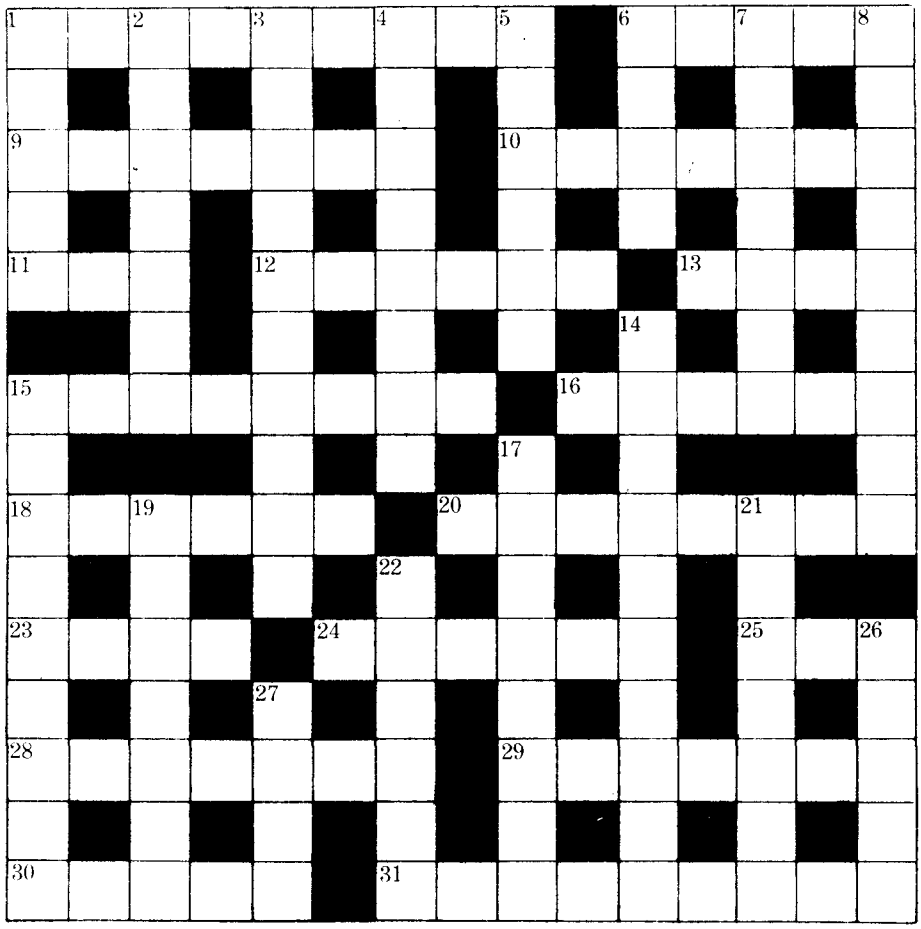
Crossword Puzzle No. 1885

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 10 across
6 Part of what the guru cherished? You might get a trimming here. (5)
9 Otherwise quartets started wrong! (7)
10, 1 across and 20 Seems to be a question of whether a Ph.D. might be representative—with a capital R! (2,5,1,6,2,3,5)
11 Urge this to go on, poachers sometimes working with it. (3)
12 Gets over what might be major or minor incrustations. (6)
13 A little bit of comedy in his kitchen? (4)
15 Supposedly went as they once did on pilgrimage—at any easy pace. (8)
16, 17 down and 30 Couldn't people go so if the waters were high? (4,2,3,3,2,5)
18 Circles, alternatively parts of them. (6)
20 See 10 across
23 Cut down like an unpopular doctor. (4)
24 Rushed on the field, possibly—but shouldn't be roughed up. (6)
25 Cry, having periods presumably not the nicest type. (3)
28 Come into something, with the lady objectively inside in it. (7)
29 The beginnings of vocalization inside the disturbance bears some fruit. (7)
30 See 16 across
31 This type of effort should be well-orchestrated. (9)

DOWN

1 and 15 down Straightforwardly, but in something of a flap. (2,3,4,5)
2 A little time in the fall gone by with the point being many-sided. (7)
3 Rains badly in canvas shelters, so they don't stay put for long. (10)
4 Put another way, the remainder finally breaks a date. (8)
5 A piano is especially obvious as a place to look for such sounds. (6)
6 The make-up of 27 tells on the rise of an actress, perhaps. (4)
7 Report, perhaps, concerned with a feature of the face found about most of the neck. (5,2)
8 The chosen few didn't walk with the conductor, of sorts. (9)
14 Having a certain amount of nuisance value—at least it appears to disturb a few. (10)
15 See 1 down
17 See 16 across
19 Name associated with foreign dances—abolish a sort of it, when nothing has a replacement. (7)
21 Put badly about 6 down's upbringing, one couldn't have arrived long ago. (7)
22 Mostly to chew gum? (6)
26 Not an "A" thoroughfare, but at least it isn't narrow. (5)
27 They may be fine for certain students, but sometimes have a crafty association. (4)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

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